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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIX

PAGE

Early Printers' and Publishers' Devices. *Frank I. Schechter* . 1

A Guide to Historical Literature, Compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Historical Association. *George M. Dutcher* 29

A List of Newspapers Published in the District of Columbia, 1820-1850. *Yale O. Millington* 43

The Cavagna Library at the University of Illinois. *Meta M. Sexton* 66

The Mexican Secretariat of Foreign Relations and Bibliography. *Review. C. K. Jones* 73

The Divine Watts. *B* 76

A New Handbook of American Scientific Societies 77

Library of B.S.A. 77

Report of the Seattle Meeting, July 9, 1925 78

Report of Meetings: Ann Arbor, Michigan, December 29, 1925; Chicago, January 2, 1926 79

Plate facing 13

EARLY PRINTERS' AND PUBLISHERS' DEVICES[1]

BY FRANK I. SCHECHTER

AS a mere lawyer, I feel that I owe a word of explanation of my seeming temerity in venturing to address the Bibliographical Society of America upon a subject so peculiarly within their own sphere and so remote from the ordinary legal domain as that of the early history of printers' and publishers' devices. This study of printers' and publishers' devices represents a single phase or rather a by-product of a larger investigation into the early historical foundations of modern trade-mark law and particularly into the legal function of various trade signs and symbols in the Middle Ages. Intimately related to the subject of printers' and publishers' devices are those of paper marks and bookbinders' marks, but, as my time is limited, I shall be compelled to refrain from dwelling upon these latter symbols or devices in this paper.

To the Bibliographical Society of America much of what I may have to say may appear as an "exposition of the obvious," but perhaps my approach to the subject from the standpoint of a student of legal history may at

[1] This paper was read in substance at the summer meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America at Saratoga Springs in 1924, and subsequently appeared in the author's *Historical Foundations of the Law Relating to Trade-Marks* ("Columbia Legal Studies," Vol. I), from which it is reprinted, with slight additions and corrections, by the courtesy of the Columbia University Press. The bibliography refers only to works actually used by the author and makes no claim to completeness.

least have the element of novelty. At the outset I may say that if I have been restrained from speaking with what Anatole France has somewhere termed "the spontaneity of ignorance," this is largely due to the assistance and advice of two learned and generous librarians, Miss Isadore Mudge and Professor Alexander Marx.

The modern trade-mark creates and at the same time symbolizes the good-will of its owner and very often represents in pecuniary value an amount far greater than the physical or tangible assets of the business in connection with which it is used. The medieval trade-mark, on the other hand, was, from the standpoint of its legal effect and purpose, distinctly a liability rather than an asset. Unlike the modern trade-mark, it was not an indication to the consumer that the goods to which it was affixed came from the same source as other goods which had previously given him satisfaction. It was essentially regulatory—that is to say, it furnished a clue to the state and municipal authorities, and to the guild officials charged with the control of industry, as to the source of defective workmanship and faulty material, the discovery of which might bring the producer of the goods bearing the mark to the hurdle and the pillory. In the Middle Ages both the use and the registration of trade-marks was compulsory—not optional, as today. Furthermore, a mark once adopted might not be varied or replaced by another, and but a single mark was allowed to each craftsman. Thus guild standards and incidentally also guild monopolies of production were calculated to be maintained.

When we turn from the ordinary fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century marks such as those of the goldsmiths, cutlers, coopers, and bakers, to the printers' and publishers' devices of the same period, we find a rather different situation. Although the printers' and stationers' organizations resemble in form and purpose other guilds and companies, the primary function and origin of printers' devices and marks would, upon careful investigation, appear to have been decorative rather than regulatory.

Writers on the history of trade-mark law have always attached much significance to the oft-quoted warnings concerning infringement of devices by three famous printers and publishers of the Renaissance.[1] They cite Aldus Manutius (*fl.* 1494–1515), who, in his Preface to his edition of Livy of 1518, said,

. . . . to Aldus' *Institutiones Grammaticae*, printed in their offices, they [that is, the Florentine competitors of Aldus] have affixed our well-known sign of the dolphin wound around the anchor. But they have so managed, that any person who is in the least acquainted with the books of our production cannot fail to observe that this is an impudent fraud; for the head of the dolphin is turned to the left, whereas that of ours is well known to be turned to the right.

Josse Badius Ascensius, who flourished at Paris from 1502 to 1532, wrote: "We beg the reader to notice the sign, for there are men who have adopted the same title

[1] J. Kohler, *Das Recht des Markenschutzes*, p. 41; W. H. Browne, *Treatise on the Law of Trademarks* (2d ed., Boston, 1898), pp. 12–14; E. S. Rogers, "Some Historical Matter Concerning Trademarks," *Michigan Law Review*, IX, 29, 35–36. Mr. Rogers states, at p. 36: "The use of trademarks by printers was the inevitable consequence of the conditions which resulted from the absence of any notion of property in literary work."

and the name of Badius, and so filch our labor."[1] Benedictus Hector of Bologna (*fl.* 1487–91) in his edition of *Justinus et Glorus* inserted the following notice: "Look at my sign which is represented on the title page and you can never be mistaken."

However, these warnings uttered by early printers must be regarded as the exclamations of outraged victims of unfair competition rather than as a threat to invoke the protection of the law for a definite legal right in a device. No inference can properly be drawn therefrom that the original employment of printers' devices was "merely an attempt to prevent the inevitable pirate from reaping where he had not sown,"[2] that is to say, in some way or other, to protect the copyright of the books in which they appeared.[3] Bibliographical researches into the history of printers' devices have established that at any rate in their origin and primary *raison d'être* they bear no resemblance to the industrial marks which we have described above, but that on the contrary: (1) their use was optional—never compulsory; (2) they were variable or replaceable at the will of

[1] For the counterfeiting of Badius' devices and imitation of his publications, see P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius*, I, 24, 46.

[2] W. Roberts, *Printers' Marks*, p. 1. An interesting recent application of the view that printers' devices were in origin essentially trade-marks is to be found in H. R. Plomer's study of *English Printers' Ornaments* (London, 1924). Explaining his exclusion of printers' devices from that work, Mr. Plomer writes (Preface, p. vii): "Printers' devices, being in the nature of trade marks, have no place in this volume, as, although decorative in themselves, they were not used simply for the sake of embellishing the page."

[3] See A. W. Pollard, "Printers' Marks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *The Connoisseur*, II, 262, 264.

the user; (3) there was no limitation upon the number of devices used; (4) their use was that of a symbol of self-expression—a mark of personality; and that their functional development was decorative rather than regulatory.

Gutenberg appears to have seen no necessity for the use of any device,[1] and it was not until 1457, three years after the earliest dated piece of printing (1454),[2] that the first-known printer's device—the twin shields—was used by Fust and Schoeffer of Mainz in their colophon to the *Mainz Psalter*. The original function of printers' devices and their relation to colophons has been dealt with at some length by Pollard in his *Essay on Colophons*. He there points out that in 1472 Schoeffer concludes his colophon to the *Decretum Gratiani cum glossis* with the phrase, "*suis consignando scutis feliciter consumavit.*"[3] ". . . . Here," says Pollard, "on the authority of the printer who has used one, we have a clear indication of the reason which made him put his mark in a book—the simple reason that he was proud of his craftsmanship and wished it to be recognized as his: 'By signing it with his shields Peter Schoeffer has brought the book to happy completion.' "[4] "As between printers in different cities, there was certainly no copy-

[1] K. A. Barack, Introduction to *Elsässische Büchermarken* (ed. Heitz; Strassburg, 1892), p. xii.

[2] A. W. Pollard, *Fine Books*, p. 47.

[3] P. 21. In 1473 a similar colophon and device of twin shields was used by Schoeffer, and the device and phrase, "*suis consignando scutis feliciter consumavit*," occur again in colophons of 1475 and in those to several of his books of the three following years. In 1479 the phrase is varied to "*cuius armis signantur*" (ibid., p. 22).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 22. For further evidence adduced by Pollard see *ibid.*, p. 23.

right in colophons,"[1] and both Schoeffer's colophons and his device of the twin shields were used, without recorded complaint on his part, by printers at Nuremberg and Basel in their reprints of his edition.[2] The relation of device to colophon is thus elsewhere explained by Pollard:

> Sometimes it was placed so as to separate the colophon from the text, sometimes it followed the colophon and sometimes superseded it. . . . . In any position the device was sure to be decorative and effective and long after the introduction of the title page it maintained its position as an appropriate ornament to the end of a book.[3]

In the third decade of the sixteenth century, when the label title-page became more common, printers' devices, especially in Italy and Germany, were often used to decorate the blank space beneath the title.[4]

If the evidence of the colophons wherein printers' devices were first used as to the reason for the use of these devices is insufficient, the remarkable series of studies of printers' devices in various European cities, *Die Büchermarken oder Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen*, edited by Heitz of Strassburg, may be said to have adequately established their original function and nature. Barack in his introduction to the volume on Alsatian marks has pointed out how devices began as a simple monogram or merchant's mark or *Hausmark* in a shield—often accompanied by a cross for the protection of the sale or good-will of its

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18. See also A. W. Pollard, *Fine Books*, pp. 60–61.

[3] A. W. Pollard, *Last Words on the History of the Title-Page*, pp. 12–13.

[4] A. W. Pollard, *Early Illustrated Books* (2d ed., London, 1917), pp. 33–34.

user—and how later these devices became highly decorative and ornamental.[1] Heitz's great series of studies, supplemented by later researches, has likewise established the use of printers' devices to have been entirely optional and without legal significance—at any rate until toward the end of the sixteenth century.

For instance, Ulrich Zell, who printed at Cologne from about 1463 to nearly the end of the fifteenth century, did not commence to use a device until practically the end of his career, and then did so but seldom. Among the early printers of Basel many omitted their devices as they did their names.[2] The early Strassburg printers likewise used no mark.[3] Kristeller, the historian of Italian printers' devices and of Italian woodcuts, has shown the close relation of the two and points out that devices occur more commonly in early illustrated and popular books than in unillustrated and in later works.[4] It has been estimated that the 351 marks reproduced by Kristeller belonged to 184 printers or publishers, "perhaps a third of the whole number at work in Italy up to 1525 so that plainly many Italian firms never used them at all."[5] Haebler, the historian of the early printers of Spain and Portugal, has

[1] See K. A. Barack, Introduction to *Elsässische Büchermarken*, p. xii; cf. H. G. Aldis, *The Printed Book*, p. 25.

[2] C. Bernoulli, Introduction to *Basler Büchermarken*, p. x.

[3] K. A. Barack, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xii.

[4] Paul Kristeller, *Die Italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen bis 1525*, p. xi.

[5] *Bibliographica*, Part I, p. 124. Cf. A. Freimann's article "Printers' Marks" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, 200.

shown that many famous early Spanish printers such as Johan Kronberger,[1] of Lisbon and Seville, Juan de Burgos[2] and Luschner,[3] of Monteserrat and Barcelona, used such devices indifferently and inconsistently if at all.

Printers who adopted devices often used several at the same time or in succession.[4] According to Roberts, "a full description of the various marks used by Christophe Plantin alone would fill a small volume."[5] While some Italian firms used no devices, on the other hand, "Lucantonio Giunta at Venice had ten different variations of the Florentine lily, and Filippo Giunta at Florence employed five more."[6] The Elzevirs used four major as well as several minor devices.[7] Johann Rosenbach, the second printer in Barcelona (1492), used two quite different marks at different times, the first with the initial of his native town Heidelberg as the principal feature, the second, later in the sixteenth century, featuring the arms of Burgundy supported by two stags.[8] Jan van Doesborgh, who flourished in Antwerp in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and specialized in the English book trade, used during his career three variations of one device and two variations of another.[9]

[1] Konrad Haebler, *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal*, "Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monographs," No. 4 (1897), pp. 63–64, 77.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 67. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[4] P. Delalain, *Inventaire des Marques d'Imprimeurs et de Libraires*, Introduction, p. xiv.

[5] W. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 203. [7] W. Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 f.

[6] *Bibliographica*, Part I, p. 124. [8] K. Haebler, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[9] R. Proctor, *Jan van Doesborgh*, "Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monographs," No. 2 (1894), pp. 9–10.

Not only might a single printer use several variations of the same device, but the same device might be used with variations by printers in a score of Continental printing centers. The three devices showing the printing press, first used by Badius[1] (1505, 1516, and 1520), were, according to Mr. Madan, reproduced with variations not only in Paris but in Deventer (1518), Wittenberg (1520–22), Rennes (1524), Amsterdam (1538), Mayence (1541), Geneva (1546), London (*ca.* 1548), Geneva (1550), Orleans (1556, at the earliest), and Poitiers (1567).[2] The circle with a tall cross rising out of it, used by the Venetian printing company known as "John of Cologne and Nicholas Jenson and Company" in 1480, was the prototype of similar devices employed by other offices, not merely at Venice but in Milan, Bologna, Lyons, Rostock,[3] and Barcelona,[4] and by the St. Albans Press in England.[5] The oldest Cologne device resembles that of Peter Schoeffer —the small shield.[6] Again Friedrich (or, as he was called in Castilian, "Fadrique") of Basel, once a partner of Michael Wensler, who settled in Burgos about 1485, for

[1] Reproduced by P. Renouard, *op. cit.*, I, 43–45; and, by the same author, in *Les marques typographiques parisiennes des XV^e ey XVI^e siècles (fasc. premier)*, pp. 8–9.

[2] F. Madan, "Early Representations of the Printing Press," *Bibliographica*, I, 224 f., 500.

[3] V. Scholderer, "Printing at Venice to the End of 1481," *The Library*, 4th Ser., V, 142–45.

[4] J. P. R. Lyell, "Early Book—Illustration in Spain," *The Library*, 4th Ser., VI, 24–25.

[5] R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, Device No. 4, p. 3.

[6] *Die Kölner Büchermarken*, edited by Paul Heitz, Introduction by Otto Zaretzky, p. vii.

one of his two marks practically reproduced that of two well-known printers of Basel.[1]

The French printers appear to have shared their continental fellow-craftsmen's indifference toward the consistent use of devices.[2] However, comparatively early in the history of French printing, printers' devices appear to have been regarded as industrial property worthy of some protection. In 1539 François I issued an ordinance requiring every printer and bookseller to have his own mark so that the purchasers of books might easily know where the books were printed and sold.[3] This statute, which was reenacted in identical form for the printers in Lyon in 1541,[4] may have been intended to aid in the suppression of heresy[5] as well as of trade piracy. Subsequent legislation

[1] K. Haebler, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[2] When Josse Badius, whose complaint of piracy we have referred to above, printed books for publishers having their own mark, or when he shared the printing of a book with another printer, he did not use his own mark, but theirs. (See P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions ... de Badius*, I, 46–47). In the case of one of the early Paris printers, Antoine Vérard, he appears to have been a publisher as well as a printer and to have given some of his work out to other printers. One of these latter, named Pierre LeCaron, shortly after 1486, cut out Vérard's monogram from the heart of the center of the device and his name from the lower edge and printed his own name in the place thus left blank. See J. Macfarlane, *Antoine Vérard*, "Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monographs," No. 7 (1900), Introduction, pp. xxv–xxvi.

[3] Art. 16: "*Ne pourront prendre, les Maîtres Imprimeurs & Libraires, les marques les uns des autres, ains chacun en aura une à part soi, & différente les unes des autres; en manière que les acheteurs des Livres puissent facilement connoître en quelles Officines les livres auront été imprimés & lesquels se vendront aux dites Officines, & non ailleurs.*" (C. M. Saugraine, *Code de la librairie et imprimerie de Paris* [Paris, 1744], pp. 93–94.)

[4] F. A. Isambert, *Anciennes lois françaises* (Paris, 1828), XII, 763.

[5] The first *Index Expurgatorius* was not issued till 1544, but was preceded by partial edicts on the subject of heresy addressed to provincial Parliaments

and also primitive proceedings before various French tribunals indicate a considerable amount of infringement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1]

That the repression of the counterfeiting of devices had become a matter of decided importance to French printers and bibliographers, at any rate by the seventeenth century, is strongly suggested in a quaint work of Adrien Baillet, entitled *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs*, first published in Paris in 1685. The author, after discussing the infringement of devices, finds that it may be "*peut-être pas mauvais*" to include a table of the marks and devices of the principal printers and booksellers which have appeared until the middle of his century.[2]

In England, the early history of printers' devices runs parallel to that on the Continent. Their use was optional and occasional, and until the end of the seventeenth century their infringement was not the subject of litigation—and even then, as we shall see, quite incidentally. Indeed McKerrow, in his introduction to his invaluable compilation of English devices, finds English printers to have been even less consistent in the use of devices than their Continental fellow-craftsmen.[3] "The fashions change," he

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on December 16, 1538, and June 24, 1539. See *Cambridge Modern History*, II, 288; G. H. Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome*, I, 96 f.; H. Reusch, *Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des XVIten Jahrhunderts*, p. 2.

[1] C. M. Saugraine, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95.

[2] See Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans* (2d ed., 1722), I, 400–404. In 1730 Friederich Roth-Scholtz published at Nuremberg a *Thesaurus Symbolorum et Emblematum*, reproducing 508 printers' and publishers' devices.

[3] R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xli.

writes, "no doubt, in these as in other things, and what in one period was a necessity to every reputable printing house and to every well printed book, in others was a thing of no moment at all."[1]

To the lack of originality in English devices and to the extent to which English printers adopted Continental devices, Pollard has attributed much of the trouble in the history of English bibliography. "Thus," he points out,

> the earliest device used by Pynson [*fl.* 1492–1530] seems to be adapted from that of de Talleur, that of Richard Faques [*fl.* 1500–1530] is an altered copy of Thielmann Kerver's, the "wild men" of Peter Treveris [*fl.* 1522–32] are taken from those of Pigouchet, and John Bydell's figure of Virtue (a very ungainly and not too decent lady) is copied from a device used by Jacques Sacon, a Lyons printer of the beginning of this century. The list might easily be lengthened, and though printers borrowed each other's devices in other countries, the imitativeness of English firms is certainly exceptional.[2]

Although the first English book was printed by William Caxton in 1477,[3] he used no device until 1487,[4] and McKerrow estimates that only eleven such devices in all were used in England between 1485, when the first one was imprinted by the St. Albans press, and 1500.[5] Caxton's chief workman, Wynkyn de Worde, adopted Caxton's most

[1] *Ibid.*, p. xliii.

[2] A. W. Pollard, "Some Notes on English Illustrated Books," *Trans. Bibliographical Society*, VI, 29, 35. See also R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxv.

[3] H. R. Plomer, *Short History of English Printing* (2d ed.), p. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[5] R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. xi, xli.

THE SECOND PART OF THE *FAERIE QVEENE:*

Containing

THE { FOVRTH, FIFT, & SIXT BOOKE.

By Ed. Spenser.

Imprinted at London for *Mathew Lownes.*
1609.

TITLE PAGE OF 1609 EDITION OF SPENSER'S *FAERIE QUEENE* SHOWING A PRINTER'S DEVICE COMBINING THE BRAZEN SERPENT (IN CENTRAL OVAL), TWO PRINTER'S DEVICES OF PETER SHORT (RIGHT AND LEFT CENTER), HIS MONOGRAM (LOWER RIGHT), AND THE ARMS OF STATIONERS' COMPANY (LOWER LEFT).

famous device, consisting of his initials "W. C." and certain hieroglyphics said to stand for the figures "74," and in addition had no less than fifteen other devices in use at one time or another.[1]

Both legal and bibliographical writers on English devices have based their overestimation of the importance of these devices as a form of industrial property upon their misreading of the will of a famous sixteenth-century printer, Reynold Wolfe, whose sign was a brazen serpent. Upon Wolfe's death his trade was continued by his wife, Johanne, who made her will on July 1, 1574,[2] bequeathing to her son, Robert Wolfe, the sign of the Brazen Serpent. Dibdin, in his *Typographical Antiquities*,[3] merely refers to this bequest of the sign of the Brazen Serpent in conjunction with the bequest of another piece of real estate known as the "Chapel House." But Larwood and Hotten, in their interesting *History of Signboards*,[4] quoting the passage in question from Dibdin, state: "No wonder then, that a sign was considered an heirloom and descended from father to son . . . . , which was the case with the Brazen Serpent, the sign of Reynold Wolfe." The same reference by Dibdin to the bequest of the Brazen Serpent has also been quoted

[1] H. Plomer, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31. For an interesting combination of several marks on one title-page, see 1609 edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* reproduced on the opposite page and described by Silvanus Thompson, "Peter Short and His Marks," in *Trans. Bibliographical Society*, IV, 124; R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, Device No. 335, described p. 130.

[2] Printed in full abstract in H. R. Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers from 1492 to 1630* pp. 19–22.

[3] IV, 6.

[4] 3d ed., 1908, p. 7.

by Mr. E. S. Rogers, in his article entitled "Some Historical Matter concerning Trademarks,"[1] as evidence that "these symbols were regarded as valuable property." Roberts, in his work on *Printers' Marks*, likewise states that the "possession" of the Brazen Serpent "was considered of sufficient importance to merit special mention among the goods bequeathed by his [*i.e.* Wolfe's] widow to her son Robert."[2]

All these references to the bequest of the Brazen Serpent are evidently produced by a confusion in the minds of their authors between the signs that were used by printers,[3] in common with other tradesmen, over their shops, and to denominate their places of business, with the devices used by printers or publishers in their books.[4] It is true that certain printers both in England and on the Continent used their signs as the bases of their devices,[5] but the

[1] *Michigan Law Review*, IX, 36. This statement is repeated by Mr. Rogers in *Good Will, Trade-marks and Unfair Trading* (1919), pp. 42–43.

[2] W. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[3] See H. R. Plomer, *Abstract from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers, 1492–1630*, p. 23, where various premises are referred to by names such as "The Sign of the Green Dragon," "The Sign of the Parott and Angell."

[4] See R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, II, 711, bequest of a dwelling-house called "The Sign of the Lute and Maydenheads"; also, p. 723, bequest of the "Grene Dragon." As has been pointed out by Mr. E. G. Duff: "There does not seem to have been any kind of copyright in the signs themselves" (E. G. Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, Introduction, p. xviii). See *ibid.*, Appendix III for index of London printers' and stationers' signs before 1558.

[5] E.g., Thomas Berthelet, who succeeded Pynson as the king's printer, used the latter's sign, "Lucretia Romana," in 1535 and 1554 as his device (see R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, Device No. 80, p. 27). John Bydell used a device consisting of a sign where he traded from 1533 to 1535—"Our Lady of Pity"—together with his merchandise marks (see R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, Device No. 82, p. 27). For similar examples on the Continent see W. Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9.

most perfunctory study of English as well as Continental devices will show that such a coincidence of sign and device had no legal significance and was furthermore by no means the general rule. The distinction between a printer's sign and his device is clearly illustrated in the case of Julian Notary, who from about 1498 to 1518 printed at various establishments in London, known as "At the Sign of the Three Kings."[1] He never used the "Three Kings" in any of his devices.[2]

A full abstract of the will of Johanne Wolfe has been published by Mr. Plomer, and in several places it specifically refers to "that tenement . . . . called or known by the sign of the Brazen Sarpent,"[3] again to "my saide dwelling house called the Brazen Sarpente,"[4] and to "the saide Tenement called the brason Sarpent."[5] The will specifically bequeathes to Robert Wolfe "the presses, letters, furniture, Coppies and other necessarie tooles being within my prynting house or belonging vnto the same for concerning or belonging to the arte of prynting,"[6] but contains no reference whatsoever to the *device* of the Brazen Serpent. The subsequent history of the device of the Brazen Serpent, which, it may be remarked, had originally been borrowed by Reynold Wolfe from foreign printers,[7] shows that Robert Wolfe never used the mark of the Brazen Serpent, but that this mark was used from time to time

[1] See E. G. Duff, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xviii; Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[2] See R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, Devices Nos. 8, 13, 26, 28.

[3] H. R. Plomer, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 20. [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.*

[7] See Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, IV, 2, n. 3.

by Henry Bynneman and another apprentice of Reynold Wolfe as well as by successors of Henry Bynneman.[1]

There is, therefore, no evidence at all in the will of Johanne Wolf—nor indeed in any of the published wills in connection with the printing trade[2]—of the actual bequest of a printer's device. McKerrow in his "Notes on the Transfer of Marks from One Printing-House to Another"[3] gives no indication of any legal machinery by which transfers of printers' devices might have been effected; that is to say, by will or descent, by deed, by bill of sale or otherwise. Indeed, the carelessness with which the blocks from which these devices were printed were sometimes handled would lead one to believe that the wood or metal block itself, the tangible property, rather than the device itself, or the intangible property, was alone of importance. As McKerrow has pointed out,

> The owner of a device would send it to a printer to be used in a particular book which was being printed for him. . . . . When, however, the publisher died or went out of business there was a considerable chance that the device would not be reclaimed, and I suppose after a certain time the printer would feel quite justified in considering it as his own.[4]

[1] For the history of the *caduceus* device and its use in England and on the Continent see Silvanus B. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 163; H. R. Plomer, "The Eliot's Court Printing House," *The Library*, 4th Ser., II, 177, 179; also R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, No. 293, p. 114. As to the subsequent history of the shop called "The Brazen Serpent," see H. R. Plomer, *Wills*, p. 23, n. 4.

[2] See wills in H. R. Plomer, *Wills;* Gray and Palmer, *Wills of Cambridgeshire Printers;* S. Gibson, *Abstracts from the Wills of Oxford Printers.*

[3] R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 164 f.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. xlvi–xlvii.

Furthermore, those printers or stationers who did care to use devices were not under any compulsion to register them when recording their publications with the Stationers' Company. In fact, in striking contradistinction to the records of the Cutlers' and Goldsmiths' companies or to the municipal registries for coopers' marks, the registers of the stationers appear to have contained no entries concerning the registration or transfer of printers' or stationers' marks.

Edward Arber, in his introduction to the *Transcript of Registers* of the Stationers' Company, thus describes the function of these Registers: ". . . . the primary object of these book entries was to account for the fees received in connection therewith . . . . the *Registers*—most precious as they are to posterity—are practically in their original intention the subsidiary cash books of a London guild. . . . ."[1]

As further evidence of the little regard in which these devices were held as species of property or as legal symbols of importance, it should be noted that, while in other trades royal charters or licenses contained a specific grant of a mark or of the right to use a mark for distinguishing products made under the royal authority, such was not the case with patents or licenses for printing. Reynold Wolfe's

[1] E. Arber, *Transcript of Registers, 1554–1640* Vol. III, Introduction, p. 18; see also Eyre and Rivington, *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers, 1640–1708*, Vol. I, Preface, p. v: "At no time was the Register complete, for in its inception it was simply a record of the property of members of the Stationers' Company established by the Governing Body with the object of avoiding disputes as to ownership, and it does not include publications issued under Letters Patent and other Royal grants. . . . ."

license as printer to the king, granted in 1547,[1] Thomas Vautrollier's patent of 1574 to print the Bible, *Ovid*, *Cicero* and other books for ten years,[2] John Day's three privileges for the printing of various books including the *A.B.C. with a little cathechisme* and for the printing of music,[3] and similar privileges and patents for the printing of music[4] contained no reference to marks.[5]

In connection with the enforcement of these printing monopolies and also with the suppression of heresy—the main considerations of governmental control of the book industry[6]—it is evident that if a printer's device was no asset, neither was it a liability. As to the tracing of heretical publications through such devices, McKerrow writes:

> No doubt in cases where it was very important to conceal the origin of a book, the printer would attempt to eliminate all traces whatever of his work, but a comparatively large number of books are to be found in which the printer seems not to have wished to advertise his share, and yet not particularly anxious to conceal it. Thus the printer of the three "Pasquil" tracts against the Martinists in 1589–90 refrained from putting his name on them, using such fantastic imprints as "printed between the sky and the ground

[1] Dibdin, *op. cit.*, IV, 4–5.

[2] E. Arber, *op. cit.*, II, 745.

[3] Reprinted by R. Steele in *Earliest English Music Printing*, "Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monographs," No. 11, pp. 21 f. I am indebted to Mr. H. R. Plomer for this reference.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 26–29.

[5] Nor did the privilege given to Aldus by the Senate of Venice in 1502 contain any such reference (see A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Maunce* [Paris, 1875], p. 479).

[6] A. Birrell, *The Law and History of Copyrighting Books*, pp. 49 f.

within a mile of an oak," . . . . and "printed where I was," but nevertheless placed on these tracts a device which must surely have revealed to those in the trade from whose press they came.[1]

At the end of the sixteenth century printers' devices came for the first time under the scrutiny of English law. The first case involving the misuse of a printers' device occurs in 1581 in connection with a patent for the printing of the *A.B.C. with a little cathechisme* which had been granted to John Day and to which we have referred above. Day, who achieved remarkable typographical skill,[2] had three devices.[3] In 1580 Day became master of the Stationers' Company[4] and two years later he became engaged in a series of lawsuits for the enforcement of the monopoly granted by his patent in the *A.B.C. with a little cathechisme*.[5] In the bill of complaint to the Privy Council in this case of *Day* v. *Ward* no allegation is made as to the misuse of Day's mark but solely as to the unauthorized setting of Day's name to the fraudulent edition of the *A.B.C. with a little cathechisme*. Among the evidence adduced by Day was the imitation of the particular type used

[1] R. B. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, pp. xlii–xliii. For an ingenious but fantastic and thrilling rather than convincing theory that printers' devices themselves were used, with water marks, for secret symbolic communication by various heretical sects, see Harold Bayley, *A New Light on the Renaissance*, chap. ix, mentioned to me by Dr. S. L. Wolff of Columbia University. Cf. criticisms in C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 8–10; also in the *Bookman*, XXIX, 531; the *Athenaeum*, II, 327.

[2] D. B. Updike, *Printing Types, Their History, Form and Use*, II, 90.

[3] H. R. Plomer, *Short History of English Printing*, p. 80.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[5] For the history of this case see *ibid.*, pp. 77 f.; G. Unwin, *Gilds and Companies of London*, p. 259.

by him in printing the *A.B.C. with a little cathechisme*, and also the use of one of his marks. The interrogatories to the defendant in this case, which was heard in the Star Chamber, inquired "whi . . . . was the marke of the sayd John Day sett thereunto and who made you the same marke."[1] The reply to this question is:

> *To the iiij he saith* he doth not knowe what the cause was whie the name of the said John Day was sett thervnto . . . . but the cause whie the marke of the said John Day was put thereunto was to th[e] ende to haue the same artificiall as those were which passyd from the said John Daye and it was a Frencheman Dwelling within the blackefriers whose name he knoweth not that made the same marke for this defendant.[2]

Of course this answer may have been sheer fraud, but it is unlikely that the suggestion would have been made that Day's mark had been used to make the infringing work "artificiall," that is to say, to display special art or skill,[3] unless it possessed at least some degree of plausibility. In other words, it is possible that even as late as the case of *Day* v. *Ward* printers' devices were regarded as essentially of a decorative nature. In any event, it is quite evident from a study of the interrogatories in this case that the question of the infringement of Day's mark was quite incidental to that of the infringement of Day's patent.[4] Despite the evident interest in the case of *Day* v. *Ward*,

[1] E. Arber, *op. cit.*, II, 758. [2] *Ibid.*, II, 760.

[3] Murray's *New English Dictionary*, I, 473.

[4] T. B. Reed, *History of Old English Letter Foundries*, pp. 125–26, suggests that this was a case of the infringement of type rather than infringement of a mark. Cf. H. F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*, pp. 48 f., concerning the forgeries of the Aldean Italic.

the first Star Chamber decree regulating printing, promulgated June 23, 1586,[1] makes no mention of marks. The second Star Chamber decree regulating printing, 1637, provides as follows:

. . . . That no person or persons whatsoeuer, shall hereafter print, or cause to be printed, or shall forge, put, or counterfeit in, or vpon any book or books, the name, title, marke or vinnet of the Company or Society of Stationers, or of any particular person or persons, which hath or shall haue lawful priuiledge, authoritie, or allowance to print the same, without the consent of the said Company or party or parties that are or shall be so priuiledged, authorized, or allowed to print the same booke or books, thing or things, first had and obtained, vpon paine that euery person or persons so offending, shall not onely loose all such books and other things, but shall also have and suffer such punishment, by imprisonment of his body, fine, or otherwise, as by this Honourable Court, or high Commission Court respectiuely, as the seuerall causes shall require, it shall be to him or them limited or adiudged.[2]

It was not until 1662 that for the first time the printing trade became the subject of parliamentary, instead of royal, regulation. The Statute of 14 Charles II, the objects of which were declared therein to be the prevention of the dissemination of "heretical schismatical blasphemous seditious and treasonable Bookes Pamphlets and Papers" and the general control of the printing trade,[3] reproduces sub-

[1] E. Arber, *op. cit.*, II, 607. Cf. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, VI, 367 *et seq.*

[2] E. Arber, *op. cit.*, IV, 531.

[3] See *Stat. of the Realm*, V, 428 f. (14 Car. II, c. 33, Preamble and cl. VI), also A. W. Pollard, "Some Notes on the History of Copyright in England, 1662–74," *Library*, 4th Ser., III, 97. This act lapsed toward the end of 1679; in 1685 it was renewed for seven years and then for one year more, and was then finally dropped.

stantially[1] the provision concerning the counterfeiting of devices from the second Star Chamber decree quoted above. It will be noted that in neither the Star Chamber decree of 1637 nor the statute of 1662 is there any suggestion, much less compulsion, of the registration of devices.

Recapitulating the results of the foregoing investigation, we find that printers' and publishers' devices, as such, appear to have originated as simple marks of personality which gradually acquired a decorative function rather than any particular legal significance. They were used optionally and occasionally,[2] not compulsorily or consistently. From the legal standpoint they constitute neither asset (except perhaps in France in the middle of the sixteenth century) nor liability. While the blocks with which they have been printed may have been transmissible by will, gift, or other legal machinery, there is no evidence that the devices themselves were so transferable.

[1] "VI. No person or persons shall hereafter print or cause to bee imprinted nor shall forge, put or counterfeit in or upon any Books or Pamphlet the Name, Title, Marke or Vinnet of any other person or persons which hath or shall have lawfull Priviledge, Authority or Allowance of sole printing the same, without the free consent of the person or persons so priviledged first had and obtained."

[2] In this respect printers' and publishers' devices resembled paper marks, the first appearance of which in Europe antedated the twin shields of Fust and Schoeffer by almost two hundred years. C. M. Briquet in his Introduction to his great work on paper marks, *Les Filigranes*, states (I, 10) that for a long time prior to the appearance of the first paper mark in Europe—a cross—about 1282, papers had been manufactured both by the Arabs and by European paper-makers without any mark at all; further (p. 17), that after the introduction of paper marks the same mark was used simultaneously by many paper-makers and that despite many complaints as to the counterfeiting of paper marks the practice seems to have been fairly common.

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A GUIDE TO HISTORICAL LITERATURE

COMPILED BY THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE *Guide to Historical Literature* will be a select, classified, critical bibliography of the whole field of history for the general reader, the librarian, and the student. It is arranged in twenty-six sections, of which ten are already in the hands of the publishers, the Macmillan Company. Eight other sections are in such form that their final revision can be pushed through rapidly. The remaining eight sections will require more time, but it is hoped that all will be completed and in the printer's hands by some time in the spring.[1]

At the meeting of the Bibliographical Society at Silver Bay in September, 1923, a paper which I prepared was read by Dr. Koopman which described in some detail the character of the proposed work and anticipated publication long ere this. I presume the chief reason for the invitation to me to speak on the same subject this afternoon is a gentle suggestion that I should explain the delay and make promises of speedy performance. I further presume that the reason why I accepted the invitation was because it

[1] Delays and difficulties still pursue the task, but the work progresses. In June, 1927, twenty of the twenty-six sections are in type, and the proof-reading of them by the section-editors has been completed, showing that the number of corrections necessary will be gratifyingly small. The final work on the remaining six sections is being pushed forward as rapidly as possible. With reference to the date of publication I still have hopes, but I have abandoned prophecy.

would afford me opportunity to free my mind of the long-accumulating store of wrath that so many years of my precious time have been wrecked by this task which others lightheartedly imposed upon me.

The original offender was the American Library Association, which, eight years ago, suggested to the Council of the American Historical Association that it would be gratified to have the latter association prepare a revision of Dr. Charles Kendall Adams' *Manual of Historical Literature*, which had not been re-edited since 1888. The Council of the Historical Association jauntily approved the idea and referred it to me as chairman of the committee on bibliography. Indeed, I was all there was to the committee, but I was told that the Council would appoint, as additional members of the committee, whomever I might select. Accordingly I approached various persons who seemed to me suited to assist in the little undertaking, only to receive prompt and positive declinations, until I became wise enough to ask someone under forty-five years of age. Then I found Professors Shipman of Princeton and Fay of Smith ready to join with me in meeting a co-operating committee of the American Library Association. From that committee only one member, Dr. Shearer, ever appeared. As he was a historian before he fell from grace and became a mere librarian, I secured his appointment as a fourth member of my committee and proceeded with responsibility to one association instead of two.

Then the work grew and I thought it wise to shift the burden to other shoulders. So I obtained leave of absence

for a trip around the world and arranged for the appointment of Professor Allison, of Colgate, to the committee in my stead. At the end of fifteen months I returned to find that I had not been permitted to resign and that the burden had arrived and was awaiting me. That was in September, 1922, and it has been with me ever since. My four good colleagues have been loyal co-workers, and we have thoroughly enjoyed our friendship and joyously Tom, Dick, and Harry one another—especially harry. When the book finally issues from the press the committee plans, according to season, a cruise to the Land of the Midnight Sun or to the West Indies. The accounts will be rendered—where justice is due.

Having secured a committee, the next task was to devise some means of getting someone else to do the work. We carefully canvassed the field of history and decided that it could be covered in twenty-nine chapters and that each chapter should be edited by an expert in the particular field. The only difficulty was that the experts vanished rapidly as we approached them. I think it took an average of 3.72 approaches for each expert scored. Lest anyone should feel hurt that he was not the originally chosen expert, I need only say that in one case the committee finally chose me after the thirteenth try.

The next step in the devolution of action was to assist each of the twenty-nine chapter-editors to secure as many other experts as possible to aid him in preparing the critical estimates of the works listed. Though the percentage of flights, runaways, and other escapes was well maintained,

about three hundred loyal, generous, or deluded souls consented to aid and abet the undertaking to some degree. Much gratitude is due to them all, and a vast deal to a few of them.

Co-operative enterprise is a gorgeous ideal. Our experience has probably been an unusually successful one, but we all say with one accord—we are harmonious in one thing at least—never again!

Now to return to the American Library Association and its example of the great idea. It did not desire much—just a new edition to bring Adams up to date so that the librarian might tell the dear general reader what is the best one-volume history of the United States, the most authentic solution of the identity of the Man in the Iron Mask, the brand of snuff used by Napoleon, the authoritative history of the island of Yap, or the latest views on the antiquity of hornbooks. Two or three committee meetings, one pair of scissors, four tubes of paste, two bottles of ink, and one typewriter ribbon would suffice to do the job.

So with pads and pencils and a copy of Adams' anemic masterpiece the committee sat down to arrange for the blood transfusion. It was easy enough to suggest titles of new publications to insert. The question suddenly changed from hunting up a little good fresh blood to avoiding excessive blood pressure. Librarian friends advised including bad books in order to warn against them, but it soon became clear that, except for a few peculiarly insidious foes, bad books must simply be ignored. Next the question arose about works in languages other than English. This debate

was not so easily decided. They could not all be left out, but the practical necessities of the average public library certainly did not call for non-English publications except to minister to the needs of the local foreign-language groups. So, with rare exceptions, books in alien tongues were thrown into the discard.

One real discovery was made. It appeared that the approved list should contain many biographies. If these were limited to the genuinely good ones, biographies for, let us say, Italian history could be given just as a select, classified list without separate critical comment for each title. Here was a means of increasing the number of titles listed without a corresponding increase in the amount of critical comment. This device has proved useful in other contingencies, as will appear later.

Getting back to the good straight history books in English, the question next centered on the criterion of goodness. Was it readability or scholarship? Did it depend on illustrations, that is pictures, or on illustrative materials, that is extracts from the sources? This question was not even compromised: the committee boldly side-stepped it. Some readable books just had to go in even if they were not scholarly, and vice versa, because otherwise there would be no book for some period or topic. In other cases, there was no attempt to decide between an unreadable scholarly book and an unscholarly readable work. Where the selection was reduced to this difficult alternative, both works were inserted, for the opportunity could not be missed to take shots at one writer for his poverty of in-

formation and at the other for his inability to express himself so that the reader could grasp his meaning.

With these and other problems the committee and the twenty-nine chapter-editors had practically completed their approved list of titles and were prepared to begin the preparation of the critical comments, when the Council of the Historical Association intervened diplomatically with the hint that it could grant a subvention only for a scholarly work. The committee very promptly grasped the sad significance of the situation and set itself vigorously to injecting heroic infusions of scholarship into the scheme. It was very late in the day to get the new idea accepted by the chapter-editors. They had consented to do an easy job. Suddenly they were confronted with the demand to do a much larger and more difficult task. Obviously the committee had behaved deceitfully. A few punctilious persons withdrew their co-operation, but most of the twenty-nine remained at their posts, though they did not all find it equally easy to adjust themselves to the new situation and larger demands. I do not blame them, but I do hope they will forgive the committee—or perhaps co-operate with the committee in an effort to forgive the ultimate offender—I will leave that point sufficiently vague to avoid unpleasantness in certain quarters. This was, in the accepted chronology, December, 1920.

The first thought was that the addition of more titles, especially of French and German works, would impart the desired scholarly flavor. Then came in rapid succession other suggestions which were adopted, so that each chap-

ter was to include reference to the special bibliographies in the field, to the best library collections on the subject in the United States, to the chief printed collections of sources, to government and academy publications, and to periodicals. The next question was how to define what this degree of scholarship was. Here we were indebted to one of the chapter-editors for the right phrase, namely, that each chapter should contain a survey of the literature with which a candidate for the doctorate should be acquainted if the field were his minor subject.

By this time it had become apparent that the new work would be so different in character from Adams' *Manual* as to be an entirely new and independent work instead of a new edition. To indicate this, it was decided to call the book *A Guide to Historical Literature.*

The selection of titles is very different, for, with the exception of certain older works which are recognized classics, our list includes few of the titles in Adams, but is made up chiefly of more recent publications which have replaced older works or which cover additional topics. For the older works the *Guide* does not displace Adams' *Manual*, which will still remain of some service.

The chapter-editors were asked to submit manuscripts of their respective chapters in the following September. By December, 1921, a few chapters had literally straggled in. I was in the antipodes experiencing the restlessness of the China Sea. My poor colleagues of the committee found themselves on an even rougher sea. Many chapter-editors were hopelessly distant from their goal, most of the others

had failed sadly to do what the committee thought the Council wanted done. With Council, committee, and chapter-editors all at loggerheads, someone began diplomatically to pour oil on the troubled waters. Carefully manifolded documents of appeal and advice issued from the committee to the chapter-editors. Personal letters and conferences smoothed out some cases. Other cases were just left in cold storage—till a more convenient season.

In September, 1922, when I returned, I found manuscripts for about two-thirds of the chapters placed at my disposal by the committee, with the wise observation that they would need some editing in order to harmonize them sufficiently to appear between the same covers. It was also suggested that the conditions were such that the task would really have to be performed by one man, and it was diplomatically insinuated that I was he.

I forgive them, for I do not believe that they knew what they did—I did not know, but I soon began to find out and I am still learning—so are the rest of the committee, for I have not allowed them to be too generous in yielding to the chairman. At the end of three months—in December, 1922—I had revised one chapter, besides making some progress with others. Then the committee sat on the chapter-editor and me throughout the New Haven meeting. Six minds being better than one, a sort of standard was agreed on, with the particular chapter as a basis. Then I tried to make the others conform. Eight months later, in September, 1923, I was able to report to you that thirteen chapters had been revised and returned to their editors for

further revision and more or less progress had been made with others. By June, 1924, this work of first revision was practically completed, and most of the chapters were in the hands of the chapter-editors for them to work over. During the summer it was possible to have personal interviews with many chapter-editors and to advise with the others by correspondence.

New difficulties, moreover, had appeared. Each chapter-editor had his own interpretation of history and had accordingly followed his own views in selecting, classifying, and interpreting the works with which he dealt. To remedy this it was necessary to make a table of contents of each chapter, then to collate these tables, and from them to establish a uniform list and arrangement of subsections to which each chapter must be made to conform. This made necessary the enlargement of the list of titles in nearly every chapter in order to fill in gaps due to the omission of one or more groups of works called for in the newly established standard classification.

Then for convenience of reference a system of numbering titles had to be devised which would meet several requirements. Once more the tables of contents were carefully collated. It was found that the numbers of chapters could be reduced to twenty-six sections, as it was now decided to call them, each of which would be designated by a letter. Then a calculation was made of the maximum number of titles in any subsection in any chapter. With these data it was possible to assign to each subsection a block of numbers, so that titles in the same subsection in every

section would have the same numbers. Thus in every section the first title under the subsection "Constitutional History" is 531, and the numbers then run as far as necessary in the particular case—the maximum being forty—so that the highest number for this subsection in any section is 570. This scheme gives a flexible arrangement and permits insertion of new titles at any moment in the editing and leaves open numbers available in case a new edition or supplement should be prepared later. The uniform classification and numeration should prove of great convenience to those who shall consult the *Guide*.

A third difficulty was that for some periods and topics there is a wealth of good material, while for others there is a scarcity. To meet this unevenness, it was decided, for cases of the first sort, to group two or more titles in a single number item. Thus item D201 includes six titles on the Minoan and Mycenaean periods, designated by small italics from *a* to *f*, so that Evans' *Palace of Minos* is D201*f*. This plan increases the flexibility of arrangement, groups similar works, permits briefer critical comments, and otherwise saves space. This plan also revealed more clearly the gaps in the list and emphasized the necessity of adding titles to cover the field.

A fourth problem was the *terminus ad quem* for new publications. This was settled by a provision in the contract with the publisher that the *Guide* should be complete with reference to new publications "to the latter part of 1924," that is, to the time of signing the contract. This does not preclude insertion of some later publications of special importance in the final editorial revision, but it does

afford relief from an effort to secure completeness beyond the close of 1924. The cost of proof correction and other reasons will forbid the insertion of more than a few titles of new works in the proofs.

In September, 1924, several sections had been returned with the revisions by their several special editors, and I set to work on the second revision, which I hoped would be the final one. So many changes and questions appeared that it became necessary to send my second revisions back to the section-editors for further attention. By June, 1925, the major part of this task had been completed. I needed a vacation—at least my wife said that I did. So I departed for Europe, after writing to each section-editor to have his revisions and supplementary materials in my hands on my return in September, 1925. Two or three were on time. The others received a prompt reminder. The last arrived ten days ago, so that at last, for the first time in the progress of the undertaking, all data called for are in my hands.

Since September I have been working steadily with a secretary and a typist in making the third revision. In October the first chapter went to the publisher so that he could prepare sample pages. We are still at work on getting just the right types and forms. We had a last conference on the subject on the twenty-fourth and hope to have the question settled early in January. I have completed nine other sections and placed them in the hands of the publisher on the twenty-fourth. Another section lacks a half-day's work of completion.

Fifteen sections now await the final revision. Seven of

these are in such shape as to require comparatively little work. The other eight, for varying causes, will necessitate more time and effort for both myself and the section-editors. I sincerely hope that I may be able to complete them all and send them to the printer before the close of the college year. The index is being compiled as we go along. So there will remain only the proofreading—no small task.

A few explanations will no doubt be expected about the exact form in which data will appear. In the first place, the book titles. The author's name regularly appears in the form "McLaughlin, Andrew C.," except as personal usage makes necessary, "Jameson, John Franklin." First names are given in full, wherever possible, because of convenience in consulting catalogues. Book titles are usually given in full, but clauses which add little or no information are omitted. The date of the first edition is given, and the number, date, and place of the last edition, with the number of volumes. The place of publication is given in the form or spelling used on the title page. Names of editors and translators are given where possible. In case of translations the English title is placed first, with the French, German, or other original title with its data following. The name of the series in which a work appears is included. Reference is added to indicate the nature of bibliographical material if it appears in the work.

The critical reviews vary from a few words to a hundred for each work listed. A considerable part of my editorial task has been to blue-pencil these to the irreducible mini-

mum. More space is usually given to the more comprehensive works of the best grade or to other works of interest to the general reader. The scope of the work is explained if the title does not give adequate information. Where necessary the bias—national, political, ecclesiastical, or otherwise—is indicated. Both the readability of a book and its scholarship are customarily characterized. As far as reasonably practicable, citation of longer reviews in readily accessible publications is made. Cross-references are frequent. Each critical notice is signed with the initials of its author. A general key to the initials will appear at the beginning of the volume.

It should be noted that, with rare exceptions of unusual importance, periodical articles and pamphlets are omitted. The best textbooks in current use in colleges are listed and evaluated, though otherwise the bibliography of teacher's helps has been avoided. For these there is the excellent work of Andrews, Tall, and Gambrill, which ought to be brought up to date in a new edition. In size and general form the *Guide* will form a volume substantially similar to Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, and Bassett, *Short History of the United States*. The total number of titles listed exceeds 7,500, for about two-thirds of which critical comments are provided.

It will be seen that the work has developed very greatly in scope, organization, and character during the process of preparation. This has been responsible for much of the delay. For its lack of foresight, the committee can only plead the absence of an earlier guide to direct it. It has been

called upon to supply a long-felt want, and it has had to discover the nature of the want, what was not wanted, and how to fill the gap.

Co-operative effort has great values, but it is not conducive to speed. The committee—notably myself—and the section-editors and other contributors have had to do their work in intervals stolen from their regular pursuits. This is the fourth year that all my spare time has gone into this task.

Finally, what result shall we have for our efforts? A book that everyone will criticize and in which not a few errors will be discovered. Yet a work which, we trust and sincerely believe, will have a wide usefulness and win genuine appreciation.

My last word is one of heartiest recognition of the generous co-operation of Dr. H. H. B. Meyer of the Library of Congress, of the other members of the committee, of the section-editors, of the numerous contributors, and of many others who have helpfully responded to my appeals for aid. To these must be added the publishers, the Macmillan Company, whose generous contract for publication should be rewarded by an extensive sale of the *Guide*. The royalties will accrue to the American Historical Association, which has liberally provided for the heavy editorial expenses.

George M. Dutcher
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A LIST OF NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 1820-1850

BY YALE O. MILLINGTON

THE following list of newspapers is an essay for the District of Columbia in continuation of Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820*, commenced in 1913 and still in process of publication.

On account of the increase in population, the opening up of new territory, the building of railroads, and the development of the telegraph during the period 1820–1850, there was a great increase in the number of American newspapers. Many of the papers existed but a year or two, or even less, and were succeeded immediately by others, so that the work of accurate listing becomes extremely difficult. Although the following list has ninety-three titles, there were at no one time more than five or six newspapers published in the District of Columbia.

The Library of Congress has at least a specimen—in most cases more or less extensive files—of almost every newspaper published in the District of Columbia for the period 1820–1850. In addition to the Library of Congress collection of District of Columbia newspapers, the following were the principal sources of information: *Bibliography of the District of Columbia* (Washington, 1900), and *A History of the National Capital* (New York, 1916), both by

W. B. Bryan; the file of the *National Intelligencer* for its news of newspaper births and deaths; the fifteenth anniversary number of the *Evening Star*, Washington, December 16, 1902.

In the two sections—Georgetown and Washington—of the following list, the titles are arranged alphabetically, ignoring initial articles and the words "daily," "weekly," "morning," and "evening." Changes of title and succession are noted. The political complexion of each paper is given; the dates of establishment and suspension where known; the frequency of publication; the names of editors, publishers, and printers with inclusive dates.

NOTE.—At the meeting of the Society in Chicago, January 1, 1924, President Root outlined a plan for a series of such papers to cover all the states of the Union.

GEORGETOWN

DAILY ADVERTISER, 1835–(?).—Independent

Established, October 15, 1835. Editors and publishers: John Finch, William B. Sheppard, George Colegate, 1835. No record as to when it suspended publication.

COLUMBIAN AND DISTRICT ADVERTISER, 1826–27.—Republican

Established, November 13, 1826. Semi-weekly. Editor and publisher: Samuel S. Rind, November 13, 1826–February 27, 1827. Title varies: *The Columbian*, November 13–December 29, 1826. Continued as *Georgetown Columbian and District Advertiser*, March 6, 1827.

COLUMBIAN GAZETTE, 1829–35(?).—Whig

Continuation of *Georgetown Columbian and District Advertiser*, July 2, 1829. Tri-weekly. Semi-weekly, April 2, 1833–35. Editors and publishers: Benjamin Homans, July 2, 1829–March 30, 1833; Joshua N. Rind, April 2, 1833–34; William

A. Rind, 1834–35(?). It would seem that publication continued into 1835, but I have seen no records of publication in that year.

GEORGETOWN ADVOCATE, 1839–50+.—Whig

Continuation of the *Potomac Advocate* and *Georgetown Intelligencer*, October 28, 1839. Tri-weekly. Editors and publishers: Charles C. Fulton, October 28, 1839, until the suspension of the paper sometime after February 13, and before May 1, 1841; John T. Crowe & Co., May 1, 1841–(?) (latest issue seen bearing the company's name, November 23, 1841); John T. Crowe, (?) (earliest issue seen bearing his name, January 24, 1843)–August 22, 1846; Ezekiel Hughes, August 25, 1846–50+. Title varies: *Georgetown Daily Advocate*, October 28–November 1, 1839. Sometime between February 13 and May 1841 the paper suspended temporarily.

GEORGETOWN COLUMBIAN AND DISTRICT ADVERTISER, 1827–29.—Republican

Continuation of *Columbian and District Advertiser*, March 6, 1827. Semi-weekly. Editor and publisher: Samuel S. Rind, March 6, 1827–June 1829 (?). Title varies: *Georgetown Columbian, District Advertiser*, and *Commercial Gazette* (the only copy that I have seen for 1828, that of July, bears this title. Cannot state when it was first used or when discontinued). Continued as *Columbian Gazette*, July 2, 1829.

GEORGETOWN GAZETTE, 1823–24.—Republican

Established, October 20, 1823. Semi-weekly. Editors: H. C. Flagg and Benjamin Green; publishers: G. W. Addison and Co. Latest copy seen, April 20, 1824.

THE METROPOLITAN, 1835–37.—Independent

Established, April 21, 1835. Tri-weekly. (Semi-weekly. April 21–December 2, 1835.) Editors and publishers: Langtree and O'Sullivan. Continued as the *Potomac Advocate and Georgetown Intelligencer*, July 18, 1837.

THE METROPOLITAN AND GEORGETOWN COMMERCIAL GAZETTE, 1820–26.—Independent

Established, January 26, 1820. Tri-weekly, January 26, 1820–March 11, 1823; semi-weekly, March 14, 1823–January 11, 1826; weekly, January 21–December 9, 1826. Editors and publishers: William Alexander Rind, Jr., January 26, 1820–July (August?) 1821; J. and R. Camms, August (July?) 1821–November 30, 1822; P. Brunet, December 3, 1822–May 16, 1823; Samuel Seabrook Rind, May 20, 1823–March 18, 1826; C. S. Bruff, March 25–December 9, 1826. Title varies: the *Metropolitan and Georgetown Commercial Advertiser*, January 26, 1820–January 27, 1821; *The Metropolitan*, January 30–March 31, 1821; the *Metropolitan and Georgetown Commercial Gazette*, April 3–May 19, 1821; the *Metropolitan and Georgetown National Messenger*, May 22, 1821 (absorbed *National Messenger*) –November 30, 1822; the *Metropolitan and Georgetown Commercial Gazette*, December 3, 1822–December 9, 1826, when the paper apparently suspended.

NATIONAL MESSENGER, 1817–21.—Republican

Continuation of *The Messenger* and *Town and City Commercial Gazette*, October 27, 1817. Tri-weekly. Publishers: Messrs. Dunn (James C.) and Co., January 3–August 18, 1820; James C. Dunn (for the proprietors—presumably his creditors as he had just failed in business). August 21, 1820–May 21, 1821. Merged with *The Metropolitan*, May 22, 1821.

THE POTOMAC ADVOCATE AND GEORGETOWN INTELLIGENCER, 1837–39.—Whig

Continuation of *The Metropolitan*, July 19, 1837. Tri-weekly. Editors and publishers: Thomas Turner, July 19, 1837–February 12, 1838; Charles C. Fulton and John L. Smith, February 14, 1838–April 17, 1839; Charles C. Fulton, April 19–October 25, 1839. Title varies: *Potomac Advocate and Metropolitan Intelligencer*, July 19–December 29, 1837; *Potomac*

Advocate, January 1–February 12, 1838; *Potomac Advocate and Metropolitan Intelligencer*, February 14, 1838–April 15, 1839. Continued as *Georgetown Advocate*, October 28, 1839.

WASHINGTON

THE AMERICAN, 1847.—Independent

Established, January 12, 1847. Tri-weekly. Editors and publishers: James N. Davis and Columbus Drew. Continued as *The Daily American*, June 14, 1847.

THE DAILY AMERICAN, 1847.—Independent

Continuation of *The American*, June 14, 1847. Daily. Editors and publishers: Davis (James N.), Drew (Columbus) and Co. (the company being Edward Pollock) June 14–July 14, 1847; Davis and Drew, July 15–24, 1847. Discontinued publication, July 24, 1847.

AMERICAN AUDITOR, 1826.—Republican

Established, May 20, 1826. Weekly. Publisher: John A. M. Duncanson. No record that more than the one issue was published.

AMERICAN MECHANIC, 1834.—Labor

W. B. Bryan, in *A History of the National Capital*, says that, as far as is known, no file of the paper exists. John J. Hamilton was editor. It was the first labor paper published in the District.

AMERICAN SPECTATOR AND WASHINGTON CITY CHRONICLE, 1830–32.—Independent

Consolidation of *Columbia Register* (a religious magazine) and *Washington City Chronicle and Literary Repository*, January 2, 1820. Weekly. Publishers: Andrew Rothwell and T. D. Ustick, January 2–November 13, 1830; James C. Dunn, November 27, 1830–March 10, 1832; Benjamin Thomas, March 17–July 14, 1832. Editors: Walter Colton, January 2–November 13, 1830; Isaac Orr, November 27, 1830–

April 7, 1832; Benjamin Homans, April 14–July 14, 1832. Continued as the *Washington City Chronicle* (the original title) July 21, 1832.

American Statesman and Mechanics and Manufacturers' Advocate, 1830.—Whig

Established, August 28, 1830. Daily and tri-weekly during sessions of Congress, semi-weekly during the recess! Printed for the proprietors by William Greer. Second issue was dated September 11, 1830. No record of further publication.

The Appeal, 1835.—Democrat

Established, February 21, 1835. Semi-weekly. For Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee for president. Editor and publisher: William Alexander Rind, Jr. Merged with *The Sun*, April 18, 1835.

Banner of the Constitution, 1829–30.—Free Trade

Established, December 5, 1829. Weekly, December 5, 1829–January 2, 1830; semi-weekly, January 6–June 2, 1830; weekly, June 9–November 17, 1830. Editor: Condy Raguet. Publishers: William Greer, December 5, 1829–May 29, 1830; Andrew Rothwell and T. D. Ustick, June 9–November 17, 1830. Removed to New York City after November 17, 1830. Continued publication there and, later, at Philadelphia until December 31, 1832.

The Daily Bee, 1845.—Independent

Established, August 19, 1845. Daily. Editors and publishers: Gobright, Melvin (Josiah), and Stith (Gerard). Ceased publication, September 16, 1845.

The Campaign, 1848–49.—Democrat

Established, May 31, 1848. Weekly. Editor and publishers: Thomas Ritchie and John P. Heiss. Suspended publication April 11, 1848. Gives a very complete account of the 1848 presidential campaign; has an index.

THE CAPITOL, 1843–44.—Democrat

Established, May 2, 1843. Daily. Editors: D. Jasper Dowling, May 2, 1843; G. H. Randell and Matthew Fields, May 15–September 2, 1843; Coale, Dickinson, and DeVaughan (Thomas S.), September 4–20, 1843; John H. Hewitt, September 21–October 14, 1843; Coale and Dickinson, October 16, 1843, to about the middle of February 1844. Publishers: D. Jasper Dowling: G. H. Randell, Matthew Fields, J. A. Beveridge, May 2, 13, 1843; G. H. Randell and Matthew Fields, May 15–September 2, 1843; Coale, Dickinson, and DeVaughan (Thomas T.), September 4–October 7, 1843; Coale and Dickinson, October 9, 1843–February 15(?), 1844. From February 2 to February 15 (maybe a little later) the title over the editorial column was *The Democratic Capitol.* On February 16, or a few days later, the paper changed hands and was continued as *The Democratic Capitol.*

THE CHRISTIAN STATESMAN, 1838–39.—African Colonization

Established, February 2, 1838. Weekly. Editor: Ralph R. Gurley. Publishers: Joseph Etter and William H. Bayne, February 2–November 30, 1838; Joseph Etter, December 7, 1838. Latest copy recorded, June 29, 1839.

CITIZENS' COMPILER, 1841.—Temperance

Established about July, 1841. Supposed to be weekly, but hardly that—No. 20 was published, December 11; No. 21, December 21, 1841. Editor and publisher: Legran I. Luckett. Latest issue recorded, No. 21, December 21, 1844.

THE COLUMBIA SATIRIST, AND GENERAL COMPEND, 1834.—Labor

Established, September 13, 1834. Weekly. Editor: John Finch. Publisher: William W. Moore. Only copy recorded, that of September 20, 1834.

THE COLUMBIAN FOUNTAIN, 1845–46.—Temperance Whig

Established, November 4, 1845. Tri-weekly, November 4, 1845–January 24, 1846; daily, January 27–November 13,

1846. Editor and publishers: A committee (names not given), November 4, 1845–January 24, 1846; Ulysses Ward (Charles Fenton, printer), January 27–November 3, 1846 (J. Thomas Ward became assistant editor May 21, 1846); Ulysses Ward & Son, November 4–13, 1846. Continued as *The Daily Fountain*, November 14, 1846.

THE COLUMBIAN OBSERVER, 1821.—Independent

Established, November 28, 1821. Weekly. Published by B. Irvine. No record of other numbers than that of November 28.

THE COLUMBIAN STAR, 1822–27.—Baptist

Established, February 2, 1822. Weekly. Editors: Robert Anderson and John S. Meehan, February 2–December 28, 1822; Rev. James D. Knowles, January 4, 1822–July 9, 1825; Editor not mentioned in issues from July 16–December 24, 1825; by August 5, 1826 (probably sometime in February 1826) the Rev. Baron Stow was editor, and continued as such until May 26, 1827, at least. Publishers: Robert Anderson and John S. Meehan, February 2–December 28, 1822; John S. Mehan, January 4, 1823–February (?), 1826; Hutton and Stow (Baron) February (?), 1826–June (?), 1827. Moved to Philadelphia, June, 1827.

THE COMMERCIAL HERALD AND GENERAL ADVERTISER, 1837–39.—Commercial

Established, January, 1837(?). Weekly. Publisher: Jacob Gideon, Jr. The Library of Congress has a copy dated February 4, 1839, Vol. III, No. 5. No record as to when it ceased publication.

COMMON SENSE—THE WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE, 1847.—Labor

Established, October 2, 1847. Weekly. Editors and Publishers: William Greer and J. C. Greer. No record that any more than the one number was published.

THE CONSTITUTION, 1844–45.—Democrat

Established, October 18, 1844, with materials of *The Spectator* (daily), which suspended publication October 4, 1844. Daily during the session; semi-weekly during the recess; i.e., semi-weekly, October 18–December 27, 1844; daily, December 28, 1844–April 7, 1845; semi-weekly, April 7–November 24, 1845; daily, December 2–25, 1845. Editors and publishers: John Heart and William A. Harris—the latter's connection with the paper being practically severed when it was moved to Baltimore, December 2, 1845. Ceased publication, December 25, 1845.

THE DEMOCRATIC CAPITOL, 1844.—Democrat

Continuation of *The Capitol*, February 16, 1844 (or a few days later). Daily. Editor: John S. Murphy. Publishers: Smith, Murphy, and Watts. Ceased publication, February 28, 1844 (or a few days later).

THE DISTRICT NEWS, 1838.—Independent

Established, November 5, 1838. Daily. Editors and publishers: Joseph Etter and William H. Bayne, November 5–24, 1838. Ceased publication, November 24, 1838.

THE EXAMINER, 1833–34.—Democrat

Established, July 4, 1833. Semi-weekly. Editor and publisher: E. S. Davis (printer, William Greer). Latest issue seen, that of February 15, 1834.

THE DAILY FOUNTAIN, 1846–47.—Temperance, Whig

Continuation of *The Columbian Fountain*, November 14, 1846. Daily. Editors and publishers: Ulysses Ward and Son (J. Thomas Ward) November 14–December 23, 1846; Charles W. Fenton, December 24, 1846–January 30, 1847 (or a little later). Probably ceased publication, January 30, 1847, or shortly after.

THE WEEKLY FOUNTAIN, 1846–48.—Temperance, Whig
Established, January 31, 1846. Weekly. Editors: Ulysses Ward, January 31–May 16, 1846 (?). Ulysses Ward and I. Thomas Ward, May 23–October 31, 1846; J. Thomas Ward, November 7, 1846–January 22, 1848, or shortly after. Publisher: Ulysses Ward. Probably ceased publication shortly after January 22, 1848.

THE GLOBE, 1830–45.—Democrat (Jackson)
Established, December 7, 1830. Semi-weekly. Editors and publishers: Francis Preston Blair, December 7, 1830–October 30, 1834; F. P. Blair and John C. Rives, November 5, 1834–April 30, 1845. Ceased publication, April 30, 1845. Thomas Ritchie and John P. Heiss acquired the paper, April 12, 1845, but did not take charge until May 1, 1845. *The Globe* was the precursor of *The Daily Globe*, which was first published June 13, 1831. After that date *The Globe* (semi-weekly) became the semi-weekly edition of *The Daily Globe*. A weekly edition of the semi-weekly *Globe* was published, becoming the weekly edition of *The Daily Globe* after June 13, 1831.

THE DAILY GLOBE, 1831–45.—Democrat (Jackson)
Established, June 13, 1831. Daily. Editors and publishers: Francis Preston Blair, June 13, 1831–November 1, 1834; F. P. Blair and John C. Rives, November 3, 1834–April 30, 1845 (Thomas Ritchie and John P. Heiss acquired the paper, April 12, 1845, but did not take charge until May 1, 1845). Title varies: *The Globe*, June 13, 1831–December 30, 1843. Continued as *The Daily Union*, May 1, 1845. A weekly edition of *The Daily Globe* was published, it being the continuation of the weekly edition of the semi-weekly *Globe*, and being continued as the weekly edition of the *Daily Union*.

THE DAILY GLOBE, 1848–50.—Independent
Established, December 5, 1848. A revival of *The Daily Globe*, which had been succeeded by *The Daily Union*, May 1,

1845. Daily during the session of Congress, December 15, 1848–March 31, 1849; December 4, 1849–October 5, 1850; December 3–31, 1850+. A weekly edition was published throughout the year. Editors and publishers: Francis Preston Blair, John R. Rives, and James C. Pickett, December 5, 1848–October 2, 1849; John C. Rives and James C. Pickett; October 9, 1849–December 31, 1850+.

THE HICKORY TREE, 1844.—Democrat

Established, June 27, 1844. Weekly and semi-weekly. Publisher: William and J. C. Greer. Only copy recorded, that of June 27, 1844.

THE HUNTRESS, 1836–54.—Independent

Continuation of *Paul Pry*, December 2, 1836. Weekly. Editor and publisher, Mrs. Anne Royall. Ceased publication, May 27, 1854.

THE INDEPENDENT, 1841–42.—Whig (Clay)

Established, December 14, 1841. Semi-weekly. Editors and publishers: John H. Pleasants, Edward W. Johnston, and John Woodson, December 14, 1841–March 1, 1842; on March 4, 1842, Woodson's place was taken by Joseph Segar. No record of publication after June 24, 1842.

THE INDEX, 1841–42.—Democrat

Established, August 21, 1842. Semi-weekly, August 21–December 4, 1841; tri-weekly, December 7, 1841–May 24, 1842; daily, June 2–July 15, 1842 (*Evening Index*); tri-weekly, July 19–29, 1842; semi-weekly, August 1–12, 1842; weekly, August 27, 1842. Editors: Jesse Erskine Dow, August 21, 1841–July 5, 1842; John M. Johnson, July 6–August 27, 1842. Publishers: John M. Johnson, August 21, 1841–May 24, 1842; John M. Johnson, J. E. Dow, and John Hammersley, June 2–July 6, 1842; John M. Johnson, July 7–August 27, 1842. Published in Alexandria, D.C., August 21, 1841–April 26, 1842. Title varies: *Evening Index*, June 2–July 15, 1842. No record of publication after August 27, 1842.

THE MADISONIAN, 1837–45.—Whig

Established, August 16, 1837. Tri-weekly (session), and semi-weekly (recess) until May 1843, when it became semi-weekly. Editors and publishers: Thomas Allen, August 16, 1837–November 6, 1841 (Donald McLeod was associate editor, May 2, 1840–March 6, 1841); John B. Jones and Co., November 9–December 14, 1841: J. B. Jones, December 16, 1841–April 5, 1845; Jesse Erskine Dow and Theophilus Fisk, April 7–29, 1845. Continued as the semi-weekly edition of *The United States Journal.* A weekly edition of *The Madisonian* was May 1, 1845. Established, December 16, 1837, becoming the weekly edition of *The Daily Madisonian* after December 15, 1841, and continuing as the weekly edition of *The United States Journal*, May 1, 1845. After December 15, 1841, *The Madisonian* itself, although retaining its own volume numbering, became the tri-weekly edition of *The Daily Madisonian.*

THE DAILY MADISONIAN, 1841–45.—Whig

Established, December 15, 1841. Daily. Editors and publishers: J. B. Jones, December 15, 1841–April 5, 1845; Jesse Erskine Dow and Theophilus Fisk, April 7–29, 1845. Continued as *The United States Journal*, May 1, 1845. *The Madisonian* became the tri-weekly edition of *The Daily Madisonian* after December 15, 1841, and the weekly edition of the former became the weekly edition of *The Daily Madisonian* at the same time, both, tri-weekly (semi-weekly) and weekly becoming editions of *The United States Journal* after May 1, 1845.

MERCHANTS JOURNAL AND LADIES GUIDE FOR SHOPPING, 1850–51.—Independent

Established, December 7, 1850. Weekly. Editors and publishers: James Wimer and Thomas McGill. Continued as *The American Telegraph*, March 24, 1851.

THE MODERATOR, 1833–34.—Whig

Established, November 2, 1833. Weekly. Editor: John McDonald. Publisher: William Collier. Latest issue seen, that of February 22, 1834. Published in the interest of the presidential candidacy of John McLean of Ohio.

THE NATIONAL, 1836–(?).—Whig

Established, January 1, 1836. Weekly during the session of Congress. Editors and publishers: William Winston Seaton and Joseph Gales. This was a weekly issue of *The National Intelligencer*. Latest issue seen, that of May 20, 1836.

THE NATIONAL ERA, 1847–50+.—Anti-slavery

Established, January 7, 1847. Weekly. Editor: Gamaliel Bailey, June, 1847–50+; Corresponding editors: John Greenleaf Whittier, 1847–50+, Amos A. Phelps, January 7–August 12, 1847. Publishers: L. P. Noble, January 7, 1847–November 16, 1848; Gamaliel Bailey, June November 23, 1858–50+. Continued publication until March 22, 1860. Buell and Blanchard, printers.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER, 1800–50+.—Whig

Established, October 31, 1800. Tri-weekly (session) semi-weekly (recess). Editors and publishers: Joseph Gales and William Winston Seaton, 1820–50+.

DAILY NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER, 1813–50+.—Whig

Established, January 1, 1813. Daily. Editors and publishers: Joseph Gales and William Winston Seaton, 1820–50+.

NATIONAL JOURNAL, 1823–32.—Republican (J. Q. Adams)

Established, November 12, 1823. Semi-weekly, November 12, 1823–July 14, 1824; tri-weekly (session), semi-weekly (recess), July 17, 1824+. Editors: Peter Force, November 12, 1823–February 2, 1830; Philip R. Fendall, February 3–August 16, 1830; John Agg, August 17, 1830–(January 23 ?), 1832. Publishers: Peter Force, November 12, 1823–February 2, 1830; George Watterston, February 3–June 15, 1830; Thomas L.

Thruston, June 16–August 16, 1830; William Duncan, August 17, 1830–February 5, 1831; William Prentiss, February 6, 1831–(January 23?), 1832. A note in *The National Intelligencer* of July 9, 1832, indicates that the *National Journal* ceased publication, January 23, 1832. In connection with the *National Journal* were published, during the years 1823–24, the *National Journal Extra* and its successor, the *National Government Journal and Register of Official Papers*. These were not newspapers, but compilations of official documents and reports of Congressional proceedings. The *Washington Republican and Congressional Examiner* was merged with the *National Journal*, July 14, 1824.

Daily National Journal, 1824–32.—Republican (J. Q. Adams)
Established, August 9, 1824. Daily. Editors: Peter Force, August 9, 1824–February 2, 1820; Philip R. Fendall, February 3–August 16, 1830; John Agg, August 17, 1830–(January 23?), 1832. Publishers: Peter Force, August 9, 1824–February 2, 1830; George Watterston, February 3–June 15, 1830; Thomas L. Thruston, June 16–August 16, 1830; William Duncan, August 17, 1830–February 5, 1831; William Prentiss, February 6, 1831–(January 23?), 1832. A note in *The National Intelligencer* of July 9, 1832, indicates that *The Daily National Journal* ceased publication, January 23, 1832.

National Observer, 1822.—Independent
Established, January 10, 1822. Weekly. Editors and publishers: B. Irvine and Co. No record of publication after March 16, 1822.

National Palladium, 1823.—Whig
Established, November 6, 1823. Publisher: James Wilson. No record of publication after November 20, 1823.

The National Union, 1832.—Whig (Clay)
Established, May 1, 1832. Semi-weekly. Editor and publisher: Jesse A. Fell. No record of publication after July 3, 1832.

THE NATIONAL WHIG, 1838.—Whig (Henry Clay)
Established, April 28, 1838. Weekly. Editors and publishers: Charles C. Fulton and John L. Smith. No record of publication after July 14, 1838.

THE DAILY NATIONAL WHIG, 1847–49.—Whig (Zachary Taylor)
Established, April 7, 1847. Daily. Publisher: Charles W. Fenton. Editor: Worthington G. Snethen. Title varies: April 7–August 7, 1847, *The National Whig*. No record of publication after June 20, 1849. Suspended publication, January 9–December 31, 1849. Weekly and tri-weekly editions were published, the former being published until June of 1848, and being revived January 1, 1849.

DER NATIONALE DEMOKRAT, 1847.—Democrat (German revolution)
Established, May 6, 1847. Weekly. Editor and publisher: A. Gross. No record of publication after November 11, 1847.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN, 1837–40.—(Native American)
Established, August 10, 1837. Weekly. Editors: Henry I. Brent, August 10, 1837–April 21, 1838; Thomas Dashiell Jones, April 28–July 14, 1838; H. J. Brent and T. D. Jones, July 21, 1838–January 12, 1839; T. D. Jones, January 19–July 13, 1839; editor not named, July 20, 1839–March 14, 1840; Joseph Etter, March 21–November 28, 1840. Publishers: John Elliott, Jr., August 10–November 1, 1837; J. C. Dunn, November (?), 1837–March 28, 1840; J. C. Dunn and Joseph Etter, April 4–August 8, 1840; Joseph Etter, September 5–November 28, 1840. No record of publication after November 28, 1840.

NORTH AMERICAN, 1834–35.—Democrat
Established, April 12, 1834. Weekly, April 12–December 31, 1834; semi-weekly, January 13–February 11, 1835. Editors: William Greer, April 12–July 12, 1834; Joseph D. Learned, October 1–December 31, 1834; Joseph D. Learned and

Charles Pinkney, January 14–February 11, 1835. Publishers: William Greer, April 12–December 31, 1834; Joseph D. Learned and Charles Pinkney, January 14–February 11, 1835. Ceased publication, February 11, 1835.

PAUL PRY, 1831–35.—Independent

Established, December 3, 1831. Weekly. Editor and publisher: Mrs. Anne Royall. Ceased publication, November 19, 1836. Continued as *The Huntress*, December 2, 1836.

THE POLITICAL REGISTER, 1832–33.—Democrat (Calhoun)

Continuation of *The United States Weekly Telegraph*, December 24, 1832. Weekly. Editor and publisher: Duff Green. Ceased publication, November 27, 1833.

THE REFORMER, 1837.—Whig

Established, February 22, 1837. Daily. Editor: Richard K. Cralle. Publisher: William W. Moore and Co. Ceased publication in Washington, April 29, 1837; removed to Baltimore, May 24, 1837, where it became the tri-weekly edition of *The Merchant*. A column or two in the daily edition was headed "Reformer." *The Reformer* received the subscription list of *The United States Telegraph* when the latter ceased publication, February 21, 1837.

THE REPUBLIC, 1849–50.—Whig (Zachary Taylor)

Established, June 13, 1849. Daily (also tri-weekly and weekly editions). Editors: Alexander C. Bullitt and John O. Sargent, June 13, 1849–May 14, 1850; Allen A. Hall, May 15–September 10, 1850; John O. Sargent, September 11–December 31, 1850+. Publisher: George S. Gideon and C. T. Burnley (Gideon and Co.) June 13, 1849–December 31, 1850+.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS, 1850–62.—Southern Rights

Established, June 17, 1850. Daily, weekly, and tri-weekly. Editors and publishers: Ellwood Fisher and Edwin DeLeon, 1850–52. Printers: G. A. Sage and Her. H. Heath, June 17–June 26, 1850; G. A. Sage, June 27, 1850–August 9, 1852.

Ceased publication, August 9, 1852. An association of sixty-three southern members of Congress adopted resolutions looking toward the establishment of this paper, and appointed A. P. Butler, Jackson, Morton, T. Roombs, and J. Thompson to superintend the establishment.

THE SPECTATOR, 1843–44.—Democrat

Established, November 28, 1843. Daily during the session; semi-weekly during the recess; i.e., daily, November 28, 1843–June 22, 1844; semi-weekly, June 25–October 4, 1844. Editor and publisher: John Heart. Ceased publication, October 4, 1844. On October 18, 1844, John Heart and W. A. Harris established *The Constitution*, using the materials of *The Spectator*.

THE SPECTATOR, 1842–44.—Democrat (Calhoun-Polk)

Established, June 11, 1842. Weekly. Editors and publishers: J. L. Martin and John Heart, June 11, 1842–March 18, 1843; John Heart, April 1, 1843–June 11, 1844. Continued as *Young Hickory*, June 18, 1844.

THE SUN, 1835–37.—Democrat (For Hugh Lawson White for President. Became Whig after election of 1836.)

Established, February 21, 1835. Semi-weekly, February 21, 1835–March 1(?), 1837; weekly, March 8(?)–July 17, 1837. Editors and publishers: J. D. Learned and Charles Pinkney, February 21–March 25, 1835. (Pinkney's name appears as editor in the issue of March 28, but he died March 26): Joseph D. Learned and Co. (Samuel F. Bradford), April 1, 1835–January 20, 1836; Charles J. Learned, January 23–May 18(?), 1836 (he became editor, January 9, 1836); Thomas G. Forster. May 21(?), 1836–July 17, 1837. Probably ceased publication with issue of July 17, 1837.

THE DAILY TIMES, 1846.—Democrat

Continuation of *The United States Journal*, February 2, 1846. Daily. Editor: H. H. Robinson. Publisher: Jesse Erskine

Dow. Ceased publication, March 24, 1846. Semi-weekly and weekly editions were published, continuing those of *The United States Journal.*

TRUE WHIG, 1842.—Whig

Established, December 13, 1842. Daily. Editor and publisher: Calvin Colton. Ceased publication, December 24, 1842. The weekly *True Whig*, which preceded and followed the daily, was published as the weekly edition of the daily during the latter's existence.

TRUE WHIG, 1841–43.—Whig

Established, December 11, 1841. Weekly. Editor and publisher; Calvin Colton. A notice in *The National Intelligencer*, February 8, 1843, indicates that the *True Whig* ceased publication shortly before that date. Title varies: *True Whig*, December 11, 1841–December 17, 1843. During the publication of the *True Whig* (daily), the weekly *True Whig* became the weekly edition of the daily.

UNION DEMOCRAT, 1841–42.—Democrat

Established, October 19, 1841. Weekly. Editor and publisher: Amos Kendall. Latest number recorded, January 11, 1842, Vol. I, No. 13.

THE UNITED STATES JOURNAL, 1845–46.—Democrat

Continuation of *The Daily Madisonian*, May 1, 1845. Daily. Editors and publishers: Jesse Erskine Dow and Theophilus Fisk, May 1, 1845–January 31, 1846. Continued as *The Daily Times*, February 2, 1846. Semi-weekly and weekly editions were published, continuing those of *The Daily Madisonian*, and continuing as editions of *The Daily Times.*

UNITED STATES TELEGRAPH, 1836–37.—Democrat (Jackson, Calhoun)

Continuation of the *Washington Gazette*, February 6, 1826. Daily, tri-weekly. Editors and publishers: John S. Meehan,

February 6–October 17, 1826; Duff Green, October 18, 1826–December 31, 1827; Duff Green and Russell Jarvis, January 2–October 24, 1828; Duff Green, October 27, 1828–October 5, 1836 (as editor of publication), October 6, 1836–February 21, 1837 (as publisher); Richard K. Cradle, October 6, 1836–February 21, 1837 (as editor). On September 28, 1836, Green announced that he had obtained a charter and was organizing a joint stock company. Title varies: *United States Telegraph and Commercial Herald*, November 21, 1826–March 6, 1827. Subscription list of the *Alexandria* (Virginia) *Herald* turned over to *The Telegraph*, November 20, 1826). Ceased publication, February 21, 1837. Subscription list turned over to *The Reformer*.

UNITED STATES WEEKLY TELEGRAPH, 1827–32.—Democrat (Jackson, Calhoun)

Established, June 13, 1827. Weekly. Editors and publishers: Duff Green, June 13–December 26, 1827; Duff Green and Russell Jarvis, January 2–October 29, 1828; Duff Green, November 5, 1828–December 17, 1832. Title varies: *United States Telegraph*, June 13, 1827–November 26, 1828. Continued as *The Political Register*, December 24, 1832.

WASHINGTON CHRONICLE, 1838–39.—States Rights

Established, January 25, 1838. Tri-weekly during the session of Congress; semi-weekly during the recess, i.e., tri-weekly, January 3–July 10, 1838; semi-weekly, July 13–December 11, 1838; tri-weekly, December 13, 1838–January 3(?), 1839. Editor: Richard K. Cralle. Publishers: James H. Hamilton and Z. W. Denham. Suspended publication, January 3, 1839, or soon thereafter.

WASHINGTON CITY CHRONICLE, 1832–33.—Independent

Continuation of *The American Spectator and Washington City Chronicle*, July 21, 1832. Weekly. Editor and publisher: Benjamin Thomas. Suspended publication, July 27, 1833.

WASHINGTON CITY CHRONICLE AND LITERARY REGISTRY, 1828–29.—Independent

Established, July 5, 1828. Weekly. Editors and publishers: Andrew Rothwell and T. W. Ustick. Title varies: *Washington Chronicle*, July 5–November 1, 1828; *Washington City Chronicle*, November 8, 1828–June 27, 1829. United with the *Columbia Register* (a weekly religious magazine) and continued as *American Spectator and Washington City Chronicle*, January 2, 1830.

WASHINGTON EXPOSITOR AND INDEPENDENT POLITICAL LITERARY GAZETTE, 1830.—Democrat

Established, August 21, 1830. Weekly. Editor: G. A. Gamage. Publisher: Charles Galpin. Printer: William Greer. Probably ceased publication after a few issues.

WASHINGTON GAZETTE, 1815–26.—Democrat (Crawford)

Established, November 25, 1815, as the *Washington City Weekly Gazette* (a daily with the title, *Washington City Gazette*, appeared, January 5–August (?), 1814, under different ownership and another editor). On November 12, 1817, the name was changed to *City of Washington Gazette*, and publication became daily and tri-weekly. On February 15, 1821, the title became *Washington Gazette*. Editors and publishers: Jonathan Elliott, November 25, 1817–February 13, 1821; Jonathan Elliott, November 19, 1821–February 4, 1826. Last number under the title *Washington Gazette*, that of February 4, 1826. Purchased by John S. Meehan, who, February 6, 1826, continued its publication as the *United States Telegraph*. A tri-weekly edition of the *Washington Gazette* was issued November 25, 1817–February 4, 1826 (semi-weekly during recess of Congress).

THE WASHINGTON METROPOLIS, 1838–40.—Democrat

Established, November 29, 1838. Tri-weekly, November 29, 1838–January 21, 1840; weekly, January 25–April 11, 1840.

Editor: Thomas Jefferson Smith, November 29, 1838–February 8, 1840; F. S. Meyer, February 15–April 11, 1840; Publisher: F. S. Myer. Ceased publication, April 11, 1840. During November and December, 1839, a weekly edition was published. Title varies: *The Metropolis*, November 29, 1839–February 8, 1840.

WASHINGTON MIRROR, 1834–36.—Whig

Established, August 9, 1834. Weekly, August 9, 1834–August 6, 1836; semi-weekly, August 10–December (?), 1836. Editors and publishers: William Thompson, August 9, 1834–July 20, 1836; Rufus Dawes, August 6–December (?), 1836. James C. Dunn was printer, August 9, 1835–January 17, 1835. Ceased publication probably in November or December, 1836.

THE WASHINGTON MORNING STAR AND DISTRICT CHRONICLE OF THE TIMES, 1834.—Independent

Established, September 15, 1834. Daily. Editor and publisher: S. Wild. No other issue than that of September 15, 1834, recorded.

THE WASHINGTON NEWS, 1846–50+.—Independent

Established, July 18, 1846. Weekly. Editor and publisher: William Thompson. Title varies: *The Saturday Evening News and District General Advertiser*, July 18, 1846–April 8, 1848; *The Saturday News*, April 15–July 1, 1848.

WASHINGTON REPUBLICAN AND CONGRESSIONAL EXAMINER, 1822–24.—Republican (Calhoun)

Established, August 7, 1822. Semi-weekly, August 7, 1822–July 9, 1823; tri-weekly, July 12–November 29, 1823; daily, December 1, 1823–May 27, 1824; tri-weekly, May 29–July 10, 1824. Editors and publishers: Thomas L. McKenny, August 7, 1822–May 31, 1823; Richard Haughton and Co., June 4, 1823–July 10, 1824. Printers: James C. Dunn and Co., August 7, 1822–July 9, 1823; Singleton S. Walker, July 12–October 4, 1823; William Duncan, October 7, 1823–July 10,

1824. Ceased publication, July 10, 1824. Merged with the *National Journal*, July 14, 1824. An edition for the country was published: weekly when *The Washington Republican* was semi-weekly and tri-weekly; tri-weekly when the latter was daily.

THE WASHINGTON STAR, 1841.—Independent

Established, September 3, 1841. Weekly. Editor and publisher: Charles Sexton. Only copy recorded, that of September 3, 1841.

THE WASHINGTON UNION, 1845–50+.—Democrat

Continuation of *The Daily Globe*, May 1, 1845. Daily, tri-weekly (semi-weekly during recess), weekly. Editors: Thomas Ritchie, May 1, 1845–May 31, 1849; Thomas Ritchie and Edmund Burke, June 1, 1849–May 31, 1850; Thomas Ritchie, June 1–December 31, 1850+. Publishers: John P. Heiss, May 1, 1845–November 4, 1848; Thomas Ritchie, November 5, 1848–December 31, 1850+.

THE WASHINGTONIAN AND FARMERS, MECHANICS AND MERCHANTS GAZETTE, 1836.—Labor

Established, May 26, 1836. Daily, May 26–October 22, 1836; weekly, December 3, 1836–February (?), 1837. Editor and publisher: A. F. Cunningham. Title varies: *The Washingtonian*, May 26–October 22, 1836. No paper published after October 22, 1836, until December 3. No record of publication after February 10, 1837, on which date a one-column extra was published.

THE WASHINGTONIAN, 1845.—Temperance

Established, June 7, 1845. Weekly. Editors and publishers: George Cochran and Co. Ceased publication, September 27, 1845.

"WE THE PEOPLE" 1828.—Whig (Henry Clay)

Established, March 1, 1828. Weekly. Editor and publisher: Jonathan Elliot. Latest number recorded, November 1, 1828.

THE WHIG STANDARD, 1843–44.—Whig

Established, November 6, 1843. Daily, with weekly edition from January 26, 1843. Editor and publisher: John T. Towers. Ceased publication, November 16, 1844.

YOUNG HICKORY, 1844.—Democrat

Continuation of *The Spectator* (weekly) June 18, 1844. Weekly. Editor and publisher: John Heart.

DER ZUSCHAUER AM POTOMAC, 1850.—Whig

Established, January 10, 1850. Weekly. Editor and publisher: Frederick Schmidt. Printer: G. A. Sage. Only number recorded, January 10, 1850.

THE CAVAGNA LIBRARY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

BY META M. SEXTON

IN 1921 the University of Illinois purchased the Cavagna library, which belonged to the late Conte Antonio Cavagna Sangiuliani di Gualdana, Pavia, Italy, who died April 5, 1913. It was bought from his heirs and is one of the valuable foreign collections acquired by American universities in recent years.

Conte Antonio Cavagna Sangiuliani di Gualdana was the last of a family of Cavagna counts, which dates from 1112. He was born in Alessandria, Piedmont, August 15, 1843, to Giovanni Battista Cavagna, conte di Gualdana, and the noble Ida Fenini di Milano. In 1853 he was adopted by his cousin Antonio Sangiuliani, conte di Balbiano, and added the name Sangiuliani to his own name Cavagna.

He enlisted in the army which fought for the unification of Italy, and for his services he was the recipient of several badges of honor. He was educated in Milan and studied law in the Universities of Bologna, Pavia, and Rome. From the Università pontificia, Rome, on November 15, 1871, he received the *laurea in legge.*

He was especially interested in local Italian history, genealogies of Italian families, and the renaissance of art and architecture in Italy.

Count Cavagna was in public life from 1873, when he

was made councilor and assessor of the city of Voghera, until his death in 1913. He was a member of various societies, scientific, archaeological, dramatic, historical, pedagogical, and agricultural; of academies of painting and of philosophy; and of geographical institutions; also of associations for the help and improvement of rural conditions in every line.

He was also a writer, and his 161 publications can be divided into six fields: (*a*) studies in art; (*b*) historical writings; (*c*) memoirs of family heraldic character; (*d*) bibliographical catalogue of his own library and archives; (*e*) publications pertaining to his own life as a public administrator; and (*f*) his minor writings.

The library of Count Cavagna was collected little by little by the Count himself from 1862 until his death in 1913. The passion of a bibliophile led to his building up a collection, which reflects the particular fields of his own interest, i.e., local Italian history, law, economics, especially banks and banking, architecture, fine arts, archaeology, chivalry, biography, genealogy, and Italian academies and universities. Various estimates of the number of books in the collection are given; probably there are about forty thousand printed books and pamphlets, besides manuscripts and several thousand maps, ancient and modern. It is primarily a library for research. It is mostly in Italian, but there are many French editions of Italian works, Italian editions of French works, Latin works, and Italian translations from the Latin. There are also some German works.

An analysis of the library according to subject will give the best idea of its value and the collector's breadth of interest. History is the strongest subject. The period covered is from the time of ancient Rome down to almost 1910, with particular emphasis on local history. The collection includes almanacs, which furnish valuable local municipal and historical material. The ecclesiastical history of the various communes is well represented. As an indication of the nature of the material, there are the following books on Bologna: Giovanni Andrea Taruffi, *Antica fondazione della città di Bologna*..1738, Giovanni Nicolo Pasquali Alidosi, *Li riformatori dello stato di libertà della città di Bologna dall'anno M.CCCC.LXVI.... fin'al M.DC.XIV...* 1614, and two other books by the same author, *I sommi pontefici, cardinali, patriarchi, arcivescovi, e vescovi bolognesi da gl'anni CCLXX, fin'al MDCXXI.* 1621; and *Instruttione delle cose notabili della città di Bologna...* 1621. Lastly, local biography is well represented.

Mention should be made of the original manuscript material and transcripts of manuscripts, which deal with the history of the different towns, with investitures, with legal acts, and with genealogies of families; some of these documents have the original seals attached thereto. The earliest document found is dated 1116. It is an original parchment document of Henry V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He had had trouble with Pope Paschal II over the right of investiture, and in 1116 made a second expedition into Italy against Paschal. As he passed communes, he gave rights of protection. In this document he

takes under his protection the locality of Menaggio. These documents are in portfolios and are arranged under place, and the alphabetical and numerical arrangement agree, as No. 1, Acqui—Albizzate; No. 2, Alessandria—Arborea and so on. There are about thirty-eight linear feet of these portfolios. In these portfolios besides manuscripts there is included printed material of local acts and interests, also maps. The period covered can be illustrated by the documents on Mede, which date from 1164 to 1904, the first being imperial privileges granted to counts of Mede and the last a personal letter to Count Cavagna, requesting his attendance at the inauguration of the new campanile of the parochial church of Mede. Beside these portfolios, the manuscripts that are bound cover a space of about twelve linear feet.

Of great value is the large collection of maps and atlases; the maps are mounted on linen cloth and placed in cardboard holders.

Closely related to history is law. There is a large number of books of *Statuti* of the different communes and cities, including manuscripts as well as printed books. The various kinds of laws in the collection can be ascertained by an examination of Cavagna's own publication, *Statuti italiani riuniti, ed indicati*, a catalog of his own biblioteca, only two volumes of which were completed (through M). It includes civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical laws and laws of the merchant guilds.

There is material on municipal government, especially of Pavia, which includes the acts of the provincial council,

also of the communal council, and financial statements showing the economic condition. There are also manuscripts on banks in particular cities.

In biography the collection is particularly strong. There are general biographical dictionaries, collections of biography according to subject, as architects, painters, sculptors and authors; individual biographies; and family biographies. In individual biography there are many lives of priests and saints in the Catholic church, also lives of persons prominent in political life. In family histories there are such books as *Historia della famiglia Conti* by Salici, and *Histoire génealogique de la royale maison de Savoye* by Guichenon.

Further in genealogy and heraldry we have the *Teatro araldico*, by Tettoni and Saladini, with its supplement of six volumes edited by Ulisse Diligenti, the fourteen-volume folio set of *Famiglie celebri italiani*, by Pompeo Litta, and other sets, with much genealogical material in manuscripts.

Closely associated with genealogy and heraldry is chivalry. Among the numerous offices which Count Cavagna held was commander of the Military Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. The history of this order by Pasini-Frassoni is well illustrated with photographs of the commanders and their armorial bearings, and among them is one of A. Cavagna Sangiuliani. The order about which there is the most material is the Knights of Malta. The collection possesses a number of books on military costume, costumes of religious orders, and costumes of all peoples.

A subject next to history in importance is architecture.

The books in architecture cover a wide range, including books and folios of plates on civil and religious architecture, palaces, bridge construction, and military architecture. There is special emphasis on the Milan Cathedral and Certosa di Pavia.

The books dealing with architecture from the historic standpoint include Taccani and Cattaneo. In connection with the manuscript material under the different towns there are included early pictures of the cathedral, palace, or piazza of that particular place.

On the subject of inscriptions, the material is of two kinds, books or collections of plates devoted to paleography in its large field, and books dealing with the inscriptions of various individual cities.

As to academies, the material may be classified as historical material, statutes, and acts. The historical material is the smallest in amount. The two academies which seem to have the most material are the Ateneo di scienze, lettere ed arti, Brescia, and Società ligure di storia patria, Genova.

The library contains a few incunabula, rare and early printed books, and first-editions. Seven incunabula have already been found, and three books printed 1502, 1508, 1509. Four of the incunabula are *Statuti*, one the life of Saint Ambrosius, another a *Supplemento de le chroniche* by Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis, illustrated with woodcuts inserted in the text, and the seventh a New Testament commentary by Nicolaus de Lyra. There are many books printed before 1560.

A very much later but rare work is *Il Conciliatore, foglio scientifico-letterario*. This is a periodical published in 118 numbers from September 3, 1818, to October 17, 1819, and is printed on blue paper. It was edited by Silvio Pellico, whose imprisonment was brought about by the political views which he expressed in *Il Conciliatore*. Very few complete copies of *Il Conciliatore* exist, but this copy is complete and in fine condition.

A notable first-edition is the 1825 edition of *I promessi sposi*, by Manzoni. This is valuable because later editions do not contain all of the original text, and there are very few copies of the 1825 edition in existence.

From this preliminary survey of the contents of the Cavagna library it is clear that it contains much valuable material probably not found in many American libraries. It should prove a stimulus at the University of Illinois to the study of the Italian language and to research in Italian history, architecture, and allied subjects.

THE MEXICAN SECRETARIAT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Among the recent bibliographical contributions from Latin America, a prominent place must be given the *Monografías bibliográficas mexicanas*, published by the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores under the editorial direction of Genaro Estrada, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The publication of this important series of bibliographical monographs is not, perhaps, to be considered a normal activity of the Foreign Office, but rather as a concrete illustration of the personal interest and sense of cultural values of the editor, who has achieved distinction not only as a publicist but also as a man of letters. It is, moreover, a further demonstration of the interest of our Latin neighbors in intellectual matters and of the recognition extended to literary and scholarly accomplishments.

Seven volumes of the series have appeared.

The first is the *Bibliografía de Amado Nervo* (1925), compiled by the editor himself. This useful contribution to the study of the great Mexican poet is apparently an expansion of the bibliography prepared by Señor Estrada for his excellent anthology, *Los Poetas Nuevos de México* (1916). It consists of 37 pages and is arranged as follows: (1) Libros de Amado Nervo; (2) Publicaciones especiales sobre Nervo; (3) Estudios y opiniones sobre Nervo, publicados en libros, revistas y periódicos. As indicated by this outline, no attempt is made fully to list Nervo's contributions to newspapers and reviews, but this is of less significance than it might seem, owing to the fact that the poet's works have been carefully collected and edited by Alfonso Reyes.[1]

[1] *Obras completas de Amado Nervo.* Texto al cuidado de Alfonso Reyes; ilustraciones de Marco. Madrid, Biblioteca nueva, 1920—.

The second volume, compiled by Rafael Sala with an introductory note by the editor, is *Marcas de fuego de las antiguas bibliotecas mexicanas* (1925). In this curious and interesting contribution is discussed and illustrated the use of identification brands by the monastic libraries of Mexico. At the end is given a list of monastic establishments whose brands are illustrated in the volume.

The third volume, compiled by the distinguished Mexican bibliographer, Juan B. Iguíniz, is the *Bibliografía de novelistas mexicanos, ensayo biográfico, bibliográfico y crítico, precedido de un estudio histórico de la novela mexicana por Francisco Monterde Garcia Icazbalceta* (1926). This monumental work of over 450 pages is of signal importance to everyone interested in Mexican bibliography, and is indispensable to the student of Mexican literature. It is comparable in significance with Silva Arriagada's *La novela en Chile*, and is of greater relative importance owing to the want of comprehensive histories of the extensive literature of Mexico. The introduction is a short but luminous outline of the development of the novel and a classification of the different types. The bibliography itself, in alphabetical order, lists over 200 authors and more than 800 titles. A list of pseudonyms of Mexican novelists and a title index are found at the end of the volume. This work is an imposing demonstration of the cultivation of this literary *genre* by Mexican authors.

The fourth volume is the *Bibliografía de cronistas de la ciudad de México* (1926), compiled by Manuel Romero de Terreros. This consists of a historical introduction of 27 pages and the bibliography proper of 16 pages, listing some 55 authors and 70 works. Of the works of which there are various editions, only one, the first or best known, is mentioned.

The fifth volume, by Ramón Mena, is *Filigranas o Marcas transparentes en papeles de Nueva España, del siglo XVI* (1926, pp. 29). This contribution, unique in its field, has as its objective the determination of the authenticity of manuscripts by recognition of the water marks found in the paper. It contains 6 plates illustrating the marks of the papers imported from Spain during the sixteenth

century; it also gives a reprint of the first license for the manufacture of paper in Mexico, dated December 13, 1740. In the preparation of this monograph Francisco Fernández del Castillo and Nicolás Rangel collaborated.

The sixth volume is the *Bibliografía de Sinaloa histórica y geográfica* (1926), compiled by José G. Heredia. This is the first of a series of state bibliographies which Señor Estrada hopes to have prepared for the *Monografías bibliográficas*. It is of 185 pages, alphabetical by author or title, and in two sections, history and geography. Title and imprints are given in full, but the omission of collations of works of a single volume is regrettable. Senator Heredia has added many historical notes that enhance the value of the work.

Volume seven is Dorothy Schons's *Bibliografía de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (1927). This, the most complete bibliography of Mexico's seventeenth century poetic genius, "the Tenth Muse," is here reproduced in Spanish from the English original, which appeared as *Bulletin of the University of Texas, No. 2526* (July 8, 1925).

By the courtesy of the government of Mexico, this series of valuable bibliographies is being sent to libraries and specialists in the United States.

C. K. Jones

THE DIVINE WATTS

Wilbur Macey Stone, who, as every acquaintance of his is aware, is an ardent collector and always particularly interested in early juvenile publications, has issued the result of some of his studies as an essay with a tentative List of Editions of *The Divine and Moral Songs of Isaac Watts*. (New York: Privately printed for The Triptych, 1918, 8vo, 93 pages.) The pleasantly written essay gives an interesting sketch of Dr. Watts; a descriptive account of sundry editions, with a copy of the elaborate Preface which appeared in the early editions and notes on variations of the text which were introduced from time to time, and an account of a number of the most interesting known copies with inscriptions contained in them. The Bibliography is in two sections chronologically arranged—British editions and American editions. Wherever possible full titles and imprints are given, and the ownership of copies is noted. The British list describes 212 editions and the American list 124 editions, copies of which have been definitely located, or described in other bibliographies or advertisements. In addition to the foregoing about 230 assumed editions have been included in the list. Without question many, and possibly all, of these assumed editions were actually issued. It is however somewhat risky, from a bibliographer's viewpoint, upon finding a copy of "the sixty-fourth edition," issued at Haverhill by N. Coverly, to assume that sixty-three editions had previously been issued in that town by the same printer. Where the date of publication does not appear on the title, the supposed date has often been added followed by a question mark. It would have been more in accordance with custom if the added date had been enclosed in brackets. The Bibliography as a whole is remarkably complete and inclusive, and lists copies from more than thirty libraries, public and private. There is a portrait of Dr. Watts and a copy of the title of the first edition.

B.

A NEW HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES

A *Handbook of Scientific and Technical Societies and Institutions in the United States and Canada* will be issued about May 1, 1927, by the National Research Council, Washington, D.C., as its *Bulletin No. 58*. The American section of the *Handbook*, containing information about 700 societies, was compiled by the Research Information Service of the Council, and the Canadian section, containing information about 75 societies, by the National Research Council of Canada.

Early in 1926 questionnaires were sent to all scientific and technical societies for which addresses could be found; and the information, except in a few instances, is of that date. Only those societies were included which contribute in some way, either by research funds or publications, to scientific and technical knowledge.

The data given include the name and address of the society, a brief statement of its history, object, membership, meetings, research funds, medals and prizes, and its serial publications. Libraries, museums, and laboratories are noted when maintained. An index assembles the information by subject, and lists the names of funds, periodicals, and changes of names of societies as given in their histories. The main body of the bulletin is arranged alphabetically by the name of the society.

LIBRARY OF B.S.A.

A list of the books deposited with the New York State Library School, Albany, N.Y., by the Bibliographical Society of America in the autumn of 1917 is printed in the *Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the New York State Library School* (1924), pp. 25–37.

SEATTLE MEETING, JULY 9, 1925

The Bibliographical Society of America met on July 9, 1925, at Seattle, Washington, during the time of the annual meeting of the American Library Association. Dr. Koopman, of Brown University Library, presided, in the absence of president and vice-presidents, and Mr. Faxon acted as secretary. There were nineteen present.

Dr. Koopman read the annual report of President Root. The treasurer gave his report. Officers for the ensuing year were elected: president, Azariah S. Root, Oberlin College Library; vice-presidents, H. M. Lydenberg, New York Public Library, and Charles Martel, Library of Congress; secretary, Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo; treasurer, Frederick W. Faxon, 41 Lorraine Street, Roslindale, Mass.; councilor for four years in place of G. A. Plimpton whose term was expiring, Dr. T. W. Koch, Northwestern University Library.

Mr. Henry, of the University of Chicago Library, spoke on behalf of the University of Chicago Press, regarding the price of the *Papers*. The Press considered that the price of $4.00 for a single number was prohibitive for any sales outside of membership copies. Mr. Faxon reported that the matter had been considered by the editor, Mr. Winship, and President Root, in conjunction with himself.

It was voted that the publication committee consider the inclusion of Volumes XVII–XX of the *Papers* in the General Index that is to be published and for which MS is now in hand for the first sixteen vols.

Mr. Meyer, president of the American Library Association, spoke regarding next year's meeting in Philadelphia, and, assuming that the Society would meet there at that time, pointed out that as it was the sesquicentennial of American independence, he

suggested the printing, as a working tool, of a comprehensive but brief statement covering American bibliography for the 150 years of our national existence. It was voted to refer this suggestion to the Council.

Mr. Wroth suggested that someone be appointed to make a résumé of historical bibliography.

Dr. Koch read a report from Mr. Hanson on donations to the fund for the completion of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.*

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, DECEMBER 29, 1925; CHICAGO, JANUARY 2, 1926

The December meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America was this year a dual affair, the first day's program being at Ann Arbor on December 29 with the American Historical Association, the second at Chicago with the Council meetings of the American Library Association. There was considerable interest shown at both places, and a wider audience was thus secured. The Ann Arbor meeting was held at the William L. Clements Library.

The first address at Ann Arbor was by Harry M. Lydenberg, of the New York Public Library, on the "National Union List of Periodicals, and the Completion of Sabin's Dictionary of Books Relating to America." Mr. Lydenberg went into the history of Sabin and his dictionary and sketched the period after Sabin's death in 1881. Wilberforce Eames carried on the work to 1893 as a labor of love, but increasing duties prevented completion. Three times since then the project has been taken up, the last time in 1924 by the American Library Association. A year ago a grant of a revolving fund by the Carnegie Corporation to the Bibliographical Society was applied to this purpose, and the American Library Association relinquished the project to the Bibliographical Society of America,

which is operating through a committee of practically the same membership.

In June, 1925, active work was begun. Copy was in hand for 24 pages, and it was hoped that one part, 96 pages, would be ready for delivery by the middle of 1926. The parts will cost $4.00 each, and it was expected the work would be completed in less than 6 volumes, that is, about 30 parts. Mr. Eames is giving valuable aid. In the discussion it was mentioned that there are now 135 subscribers, and that Captain John Smith is still the stumbling block as he was to Sabin.

As to the National Union List of Periodicals, Mr. Lydenberg reported that the work has been initiated upon subscriptions of 40 libraries for three years; that three editions are provided for, the checking edition, the provisional edition, the final edition; that the checking edition has reached "P"; and that the Roman alphabet will be followed by lists of periodicals in Cyrillic, Hebrew, Yiddish, and Arabic. The work will list about 40,000 holdings in 160–70 libraries, and will be an exceedingly valuable tool for all librarians and all research.

The second speaker was Professor George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, who told of the work on the *Guide to Historical Literature*. The work was initiated by the American Library Association, in 1919, asking the American Historical Association to prepare an up-to-date revision of Adams' *Manual of Historical Literature*. The work was thrust upon Professor Dutcher, who first chose his committee; then the committee outlined a revision; then it found it must prepare a work which would satisfy scholars and revised its plans. It considered the work a new enterprise and not a revision, and changed the title. It divided all history into 29 fields, secured section-editors, listed some 10,000 titles, has critical reviews on half by 300 reviewers, has added sections on bibliographies, archives, periodicals, and library collections, and now has sent 10 chapters out of a final 26 to Macmillan for printing. Professor Dutcher was somewhat humorous in his description of obstacles and delays and concluded by saying that a

co-operative work is of great value but not a speedy production and that he and the committee expected in 1926 to put forth a work which everyone would criticize, and in which error and omission would be found, yet which would stand as a critical aid and evaluator of the best of historical literature available today.

Professor E. C. Richardson, of Princeton, in rising to speak on his topic, "Immediate Co-operation for Bibliographical Results," emphasized his great belief in co-operation and his feeling that it could bring speedy results despite Professor Dutcher's closing statement. He illustrated the different kinds of bibliographies from the three just described, referred to the three societies interested, distinguished between "pure" and "applied" bibliography, and then suggested it was a good time for general co-operation of all bibliographical agencies. Professor Richardson then mentioned "going" enterprises in bibliography, such as the Union List, and the Union Card Catalogs in Europe and America—for instance, the Library of Congress Union Card Catalog with three million titles. For immediate work, he suggested, first, that the International Catalog should be saved; second, that Scientific Abstracts should be completely organized; third, that the Union Card finding list for American Libraries should be brought to completion; fourth, that a modified and extended list of special collections should be made; and fifth, that a clearing-house for "going" bibliographical enterprises should be established. Professor Richardson thought the Union Catalog the most important of all as "the necessary bibliographical basis on which librarians can build a co-operation in purchase to fill the lacks discovered," also "to lie at the basis of all bibliographical work both pure and applied." This Union List is needed because it has been found by count that not more than one-fourth of all titles so far listed are to be found in any one library—that is, no library at present, however large and apparently complete, is anywhere near complete: computations indicate about 8 or 10 million titles in the world's great libraries. A Union Catalog would list the libraries where all these different works could be found. To further the International Cata-

log, work on the Library of Congress Union Catalog would help. To further that, local Union Catalogs would help. If money to print a title-a-line check list were forthcoming, very rapid progress could be made. This Union Catalog would eliminate waste in buying, cataloging, borrowing. Professor Richardson for practical purposes suggested a committee and a meeting next October; second, direct co-operation with the Washington Union List; third, an appeal for funds; fourth, an effort to organize university and reference libraries for actual library co-operation along the line of choice purchase, duplicate exchange, cataloging, lending, and information service. "Immediate Co-operation for Bibliographical Results" has been printed in the *Library Journal*, LI (February 15, 1926), 167–70.

Dr. Randolph G. Adams, librarian of the William L. Clements Library, where the meeting was held, gave a paper on "The Historian's Relationship to a Library of Rare Books." Dr. Adams began by emphasizing the importance of bibliographical knowledge and the need of the historian for an understanding of the source. The neglect is evidenced among other things by the neglect of the study of the progress and development of printing. Bibliography also may render service because among the bibliographers are the book-collectors. The book-collectors can possibly supply what so many, indeed most, historians lack, that is, feeling and enthusiasm. Many a book-collector has, because of his interest and loving care, developed, despite his lack of formal education or graduate work, into an authoritative writer in the fields in which he was interested. If the historian can catch some of that spirit, then the history writing will get what it now lacks. The library of rare books may also help to uncover possible bibliophiles, it may develop an idea of the care necessary for rare books. If historians realized this, our care of archives would be improved. In conclusion he said, "it is our ardent hope that the library can serve the historical profession by giving the historical investigator at least the opportunity of mellowing his work by sharing in the joys and human emotion of the bibliophile."

Mr. W. W. Bishop, librarian of the University of Michigan, spoke of the papyrus collection, now numbering 3,500 papyri, from the third century B.C. to the ninth century A.D.; and the society adjourned to the treasure rooms in the main library building and inspected many fine specimens of papyrus.

The second session was held in the Drake Hotel, Saturday, January 2, 1926, at 2:30 P.M. It was called to order by President Root. Mr. H. M. Lydenberg and Professor Dutcher gave to the Chicago meeting the same papers that were given to the Ann Arbor meeting.

A paper was presented from Professor L. C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan, on "The Earliest Known Arithmetic in America," which has been published in *Science*, New Series, LXIII (February 19, 1926), 193–95. Miss Meta Sexton, of the staff of the University of Illinois Library, presented a paper on the "Cavagna Sangiuliani Library" recently acquired by that institution.

As the author of one other expected paper was not present, the remainder of the time was taken up by a discussion of recent important collections added to university libraries. Each member present spoke of the more important collections which had been acquired within the last year or two by his institution.

President Root then raised the question as to the need, among American libraries, of the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*, pointing out that the present copies in American libraries are rapidly wearing out, owing to constant use, and that there are a large number of college and university libraries which do not possess copies. He raised the question whether there would be a general response if an attempt were made to secure, by means of some of the newer and cheaper printing processes, a photographically exact reproduction of the *Museum Catalogue* as it is today with the additions and corrections which have been made since 1880. The suggestion brought immediate, hearty response, and the President undertook to carry on farther investigation and report at a subsequent meeting as to the possibilities and cost of the project.